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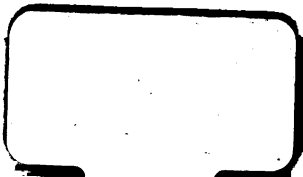
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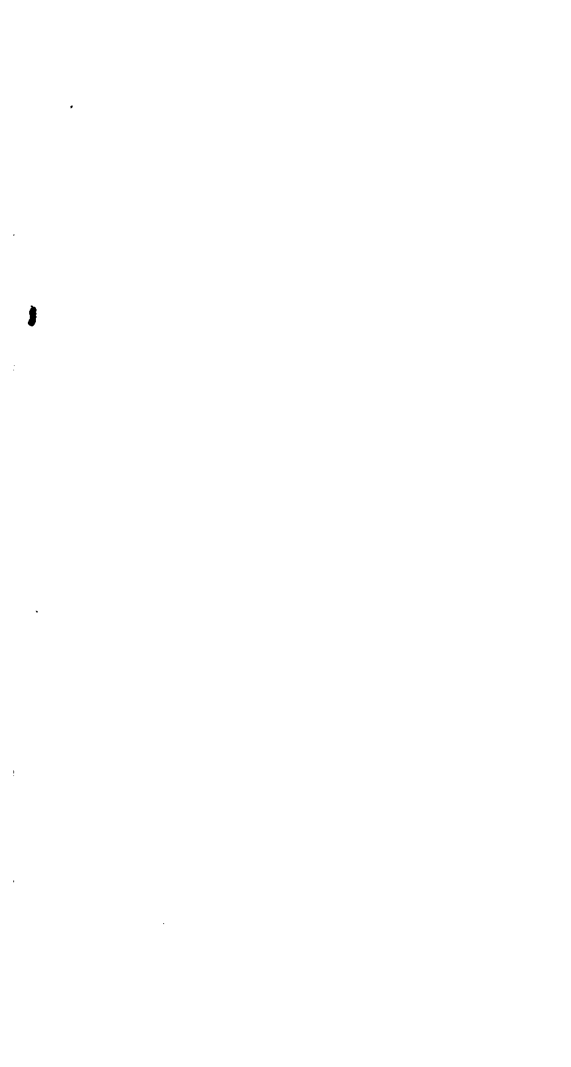
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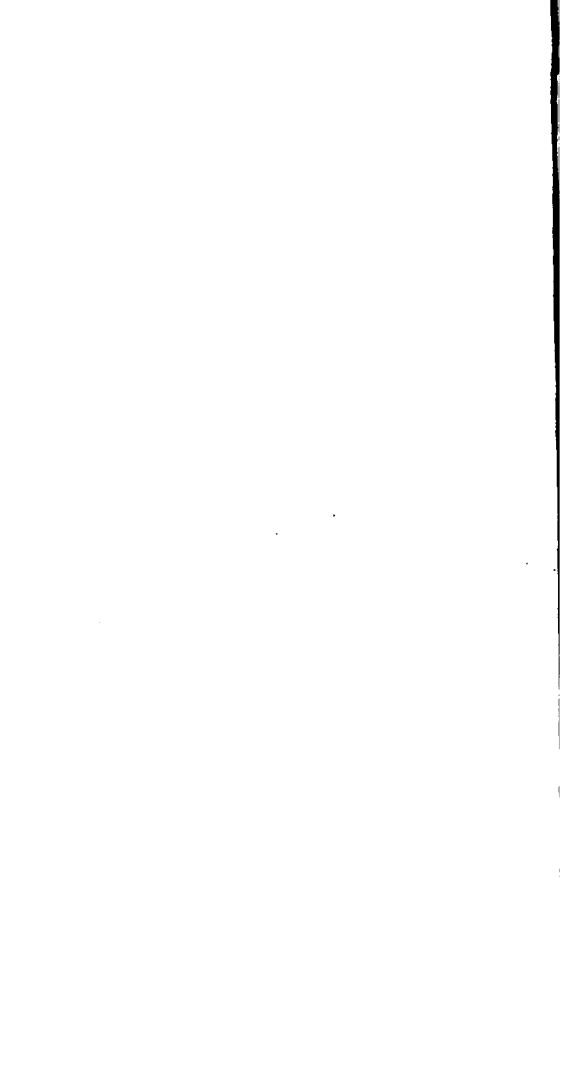
1931











# HERODOTUS:

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM BELOE.



COMPLETE IN THREE VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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*The second American from the last corrected London  
edition.*



New-York:

PUBLISHED BY P. P. BERRESFORD.

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1828.

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**A SKETCH**  
**OF THE**  
**LIFE OF HERODOTUS.**

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HERODOTUS, a celebrated historian of Halicarnassus, was born at Caria, in the first year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad, answering to B. C. 484. When he grew up, he left his native place, in order to travel, for the acquisition of knowledge, through Greece, Thrace, Scythia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. After collecting, in this way, all the information he could obtain concerning the history and origin of nations, he retired to the isle of Samos, and composed this history. He was in his thirty-ninth year, when a generous desire of fame led him to publicly recite it at the Olympic games. It was heard with great applause and admiration, and the names of the nine muses were unanimously given to the nine books into which it is divided. This celebrated composition, which has procured its author the title of *father of history*, is written in the Ionic dialect. Herodotus is among the historians, what Homer is among the poets, and Demosthenes among the orators. His style abounds with elegance ease, and sweet-

ness; and if there is any of the fabulous or incredible, the author candidly informs the reader that it is introduced upon the narration of others. Almost every European language has to boast of a translation of Herodotus:—there is one in Dutch, German, Italian, and more than one in French. The best editions of this valuable classic are that of Aldus, 1502; that of Wesseling, Amsterdam, 1763; and that of Schweighaeuser, Argent. et Paris, 1816.

# HERODOTUS.

## BOOK I.

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### CLIO.

#### CHAPTER I.

To preserve from oblivion the memory of former incidents, and to render a just tribute of renown to the many great and wonderful actions, both of Greeks and Barbarians, HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus produces these historical researches.

Among other things, it will be necessary to investigate the sources of the hostilities which subsisted between these people. The more learned of the Persians assert that the Phœnicians were the original excitors of contention. This nation migrated from the borders of the Red Sea to the place of their present settlement, and soon distinguished themselves by their long and enterprising voyages. They exported to Argos, among other places, the produce of Egypt and Assyria. Argos, at that period, was the most famous of all those states which are now comprehended under the general appellation of Greece. On their arrival here, the Phœnicians exposed their merchandise to sale; after remaining about six days, and when they had almost disposed of their different articles of commerce, the king's daughter, whom both nations agree in calling Io, came among a great number of other women, to visit them at their station. Whilst these females, standing near the stern of the vessel, amused themselves with bargaining for such things as attracted their curiosity, the Phœnicians, in conjunction, made an attempt to seize their persons. The greater part of them escaped, but Io, with many others, remain-

ed a captive. They carried them on board, and directed their course for Egypt.

II. The relation of the Greeks differs essentially; but this, according to the Persians, was the cause of Io's arrival in Egypt, and the first act of violence which was committed. In process of time, certain Grecians, concerning whose country writers disagree, but who were really of Crete, are reported to have touched at Tyre, and to have carried away Europa, the daughter of the prince. Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated; but they were certainly guilty of the second provocation. They made a voyage in a vessel of war to *Æa*, a city of Colchos, near the river Phasis; and, after having accomplished the more immediate object of their expedition, they forcibly carried off the king's daughter, Medea. The king of Colchos despatched a herald to demand satisfaction for the affront, and the restitution of the princess; but the Greeks replied, that they should make no reparation in the present instance, as the violence formerly offered to Io still remained unexpiated.

III. In the age which followed, Alexander, the son of Priam, encouraged by the memory of these events, determined on obtaining a wife from Greece, by means of similar violence; fully persuaded that this, like former wrongs, would never be avenged.

Upon the loss of Helen, the Greeks at first employed messengers to demand her person, as well as a compensation for the affront. All the satisfaction they received was reproach for the injury which had been offered to Medea; and they were farther asked, how, under circumstances entirely alike, they could reasonably require, what they themselves had denied.

IV. Hitherto the animosity betwixt the two nations extended no farther than to acts of private violence. But at this period, the Greeks certainly laid the foundation of subsequent contention; who, before the Persians invaded Europe, doubtless made military incursions into Asia. The Persians appear to be of opinion, that they who offer violence to women must be insensible to the impressions of justice, but that provocations are as much beneath revenge, as

the women themselves are undeserving of regard: it being obvious, that all the females thus circumstanced must have been more or less accessory to the fact. They asserted also, that although women had been forcibly carried away from Asia, they had never resented the affront. The Greeks, on the contrary, to avenge the rape of a Lacedæmonian woman, had assembled a mighty fleet, entered Asia in a hostile manner, and had totally overthrown the empire of Priam. Since which event they had always considered the Greeks as the public enemies of their nation. It is to be observed, that the Persians esteem Asia, with all its various and barbarous inhabitants, as their own peculiar possession, considering Europe and Greece as totally distinct and unconnected.

V. The above is the Persian tradition; who date the cause and origin of their enmity to Greece from the destruction of Troy. What relates to Io is denied by the Phœnicians; who affirm that she was never forcibly carried into Egypt. They assert, that during their continuance at Argos, she had an illicit connexion with the pilot of their vessel, and, proving pregnant, she voluntarily accompanied them to Egypt, to avoid the detection of her crime and the indignation of her parents. Having now stated the different representations of the Persians and Phœnicians, I shall not detain the reader by an investigation of the truth of either narrative. I shall commence with an account of that personage, of whose first attacks upon Greece I am certainly convinced. I shall, as I proceed, carefully describe both the smaller cities and larger communities: for, many of these, at present possessed neither of opulence nor power, were formerly splendid and illustrious; others have, even within my remembrance, risen from humility to grandeur. From my conviction, therefore, of the precarious nature of human felicity, these shall all be respectively described.

VI. Cræsus, by descent a Lydian, was the son of Alyattes, and sovereign of those countries which lie on this side the river Halys. This stream, in its passage from the south towards the north, passes through Sy-

ria and Paphlagonia, and finally empties itself into the Euxine. Cræsus, we have reason to believe, was the first of the Barbarian princes who exacted tribute from some nations of Greece, and entered into leagues of amity with others. Before his time, the Greeks were universally free; he, however, subdued the Æolians and the Ionians, with such of the Dorians as are situate in Asia, whilst he formed a friendly alliance with the Lacedæmonians. It appears that the incursion of the Cimmerians into Ionia, was before the time of Cræsus; but their sole object was plunder, and none of the cities were molested.

VII. The family of Cræsus were named the Mermnadæ; and it may be proper to relate by what means the empire descended to them, from the Heraclidæ. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was king of Sardis, and of the family of Alcæus the son of Hercules. The first of the Heraclidæ was Agron, who reigned also at Sardis; he was the son of Ninus, the grandson of Belus, the great-grandson of Alcæus. Candaules the son of Myrsus was the last of this race. The people of this district were in ancient times called Meonians; they were afterwards named Lydians, from Lydus the son of Atys. From him, before the time of Agron, the princes of the country derived their origin. The Heraclidæ, descended from Hercules and a female slave of Jardanus, enjoyed a delegated authority from these princes, and afterwards obtained the supreme dignity from the declaration of an oracle. They retained their power, in regular and uninterrupted succession, from father to son, to the time of Candaules, a period equal to twenty-two ages of man, being no less than five hundred and five years.

VIII. Candaules was so vehemently attached to his wife that in his passion he conceived her beauty to be beyond all competition. Among those who attended near his person, Gyges, the son of Dascylus had rendered him essential service, and was honoured by his particular confidence. To him he frequently extolled the beauty of his wife, in exaggerated terms. Under the influence of a most fatal delusion, he took an opportunity of thus addressing him: "Gyges, I am

satisfied, that we receive less conviction from what we hear, than from what we see, and, as you do not seem to credit all I tell you of my wife's personal accomplishments, I am determined that you shall see her naked."—Gyges replied, much agitated, "what you propose is exceedingly improper: Remember, Sir, that with her clothes a woman puts off her modesty. Many are the precepts recorded by wise men for our instruction, but there is none more entitled to our regard than that 'it becomes a man to look into those things only which concern himself.' I give implicit confidence to your assertions, I am willing to believe my mistress the most beautiful of her sex; but I entreat you to forbear repeating an unlawful request."

IX. Gyges, from apprehension of the event, would have persevered in his refusal; but the king could not be dissuaded from his purpose. "Gyges," he resumed, "you have nothing to fear from me or from your mistress; I do not want to make experiment of your fidelity, and I shall render it impossible for the queen to detect you. I myself will place you behind an open door of the apartment in which we sleep. As soon as I enter, my wife will make her appearance; it is her custom to undress herself at leisure, and to place her garments one by one on a chair near the entrance. You will have the best opportunity of contemplating her person. As soon as she approaches the bed, and her face is turned from you, you must be careful to leave the room without being discovered."

X. Gyges had no alternative but compliance. At the time of retiring to rest, he accompanied Candaules to his chamber, and the queen soon afterwards appeared. He saw her enter, and gradually disrobe herself. She approached the bed; and Gyges endeavoured to retire, but the queen saw and knew him. She instantly conceived her husband to be the cause of her disgrace, and determined on revenge. She had the presence of mind to restrain the emotions of her wounded delicacy, and to seem entirely ignorant of what had happened; although, among all the Barbarian nations, and among the Lydians in particu-

lar, it is deemed a matter of the greatest turpitude even for a man to be seen naked.

XI. The queen preserved the strictest silence ; and, in the morning, having prepared some confidential servants for the occasion, she sent for Gyges. Not at all suspicious that she knew what had happened, he complied with the message, as he had been accustomed to do at other times, and appeared before his mistress. As soon as he came in to her presence, she thus addressed him : “ Gyges, I submit two proposals to your choice ; destroy Candaules, and take possession of me and of the Lydian kingdom, or expect immediate death. From your unqualified obedience to your master, you may again be a spectator of what modesty forbids : the king has been the author of my disgrace ; you also, in seeing me naked, have violated decorum ; and it is necessary that one of you should die.”—Gyges, after he had somewhat recovered from his astonishment, implored her not to compel him to so delicate and difficult an alternative. But when he found that expostulations were vain, and that he must either kill Candaules, or die himself by the hands of others, he chose rather to be the survivor. “ Since my master must perish,” he replied, “ and, notwithstanding my reluctance, by my hands, tell me how your purpose shall be accomplished ? ” “ The deed,” she answered, “ shall be perpetrated in that very place where he exhibited me naked : but you shall kill him in his sleep.”

XII. Their measures were accordingly concerted : Gyges had no opportunity of escape, nor of evading the alternative proposed. At the approach of night, the queen conducted him to her chamber, and placed him behind the same door, with a dagger in his hand. Candaules was murdered in his sleep, and Gyges took immediate possession of his wife and of the empire. Of the above event, Archilocus of Paros, who lived about the same period, has made mention in some Trimeter Iambics.

XIII. A declaration of the Delphic oracle, confirmed Gyges in his possession of the sovereignty. The Lydians resented the fate of Candaules, and had recourse

to arms. A stipulation was at length made betwixt the different parties, that if the oracle decided in favour of Gyges, he should continue on the throne; if otherwise, it should revert to the Heraclidæ. Although Gyges retained the supreme authority, the words of the oracle expressly intimated, that the Heraclidæ should be avenged in the person of the fifth descendant of Gyges. To this prediction, until it was ultimately accomplished, neither princes nor people paid the smallest attention. Thus did the Mermnadæ obtain the empire, to the injurious exclusion of the Heraclidæ.

XIV. Gyges, as soon as he was established in his authority, sent various presents to Delphi, a considerable quantity of which were of silver. Among other marks of his liberality, six golden goblets, which weighed no less than thirty talents, deserve particular attention. These now stand in the treasury of Corinth; though, in strict truth, that treasure was not given by the people of Corinth, but by Cypselus the son of Eetion. This Gyges was the first of the Barbarians whose history we know, who made votive offerings to the oracle, after Midas the son of Gordius, king of Phrygia. Midas consecrated to this purpose his own royal throne, a most beautiful specimen of art, from which he himself was accustomed to administer justice. This was deposited in the same place with the goblets of Gyges, to whose offerings of gold and silver, the Delphians assigned the name of the donor. Gyges, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, carried his arms against Miletus and Smyrna, and took the city Colophon. Although he reigned thirty-eight years, he performed no other remarkable exploit: I shall proceed, therefore, to speak of his son and successor, Ardys.

XV. This prince vanquished the Prienians, and attacked Miletus. During his reign, the Cimmerians, being expelled their country by the Nomades of Scythia, passed over into Asia, and possessed themselves of all Sardis, except the citadel.

XVI. After reigning forty-nine years, he was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years. After him, his son Alyattes possessed the

throne. He carried on war against **Cyaxares** the grandson of **Deioces**, drove the **Cimmerians** out of Asia, took **Smyrna**, which **Colophon** had built, and invaded **Clazomenæ**. In his designs upon this place he was greatly disappointed; but he performed, in the course of his reign, these very memorable actions.

**XVII.** He resumed the war against the **Milesians**, which his father had commenced; and he conducted it in this manner:—When the time of harvest approached, he marched an army into their country, to the sound of the pastoral pipe, harp, and flutes masculine and feminine. On his arrival in their territories, he neither pulled down nor burned, nor in any respect injured, their edifices which stood in the fields; but he totally destroyed their trees and the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the **Milesians** were masters of the sea, the siege of their city would probably have proved ineffectual. His motive for not destroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that on every repetition of his incursions, he might be secure of plunder.

**XVIII.** In this manner the war was protracted during a period of eleven years; in which time the **Milesians** received two remarkable defeats, one in a pitched battle at **Limeneium**, within their own territories, another on the plains of **Meander**. Six of these eleven years, **Sadyattes** the son of **Ardys** reigned over the **Lydians**: he commenced the **Milesian** war, which his son **Alyattes** afterwards continued with increase of ardour. The **Milesians**, in this contest, received assistance from none of the **Ionians**, except from **Chios**. The inhabitants of **Chios** offered their support, in return for the aid which they had formerly received from the **Milesians**, in a war with the **Erythræans**.

**XIX.** In the twelfth year of the war, the following event happened, in consequence of the corn being set on fire by the enemy's army. A sudden wind directed the flames against the temple of the **Assesian Minerva**, and entirely consumed it. It was at first considered as a matter of no importance; but after the return of the army to **Sardis**, **Alyattes** was seized with a severe and lingering disease. From the impulse of his own

mind, or from the persuasion of friends, he sent to make inquiries of the oracle concerning his recovery. On the arrival of his messengers, the Pythian said, that till the temple of the Assesian Minerva, which they had consumed by fire, should be restored, no answer would be given them.

XX. I was myself informed of this circumstance at Delphi; but the Milesians add more. They tell us, that Periander the son of Cypselus, when he heard the answer given to Alyattes, despatched an emissary to Thrasybulus king of Miletus, with whom he was intimately connected, desiring him to pay suitable attention to the present emergence. This is the Milesian narrative.

XXI. Alyattes, on the return of his messengers, despatched a herald to Miletus, whose commission was, to make a truce with Thrasybulus for such time as might be required to repair the temple. Thrasybulus, in consequence of the intimation he had received, was aware of the intentions of Alyattes, and conducted himself in this manner: All the corn which was found, or could be procured at Miletus, was, by his direction, collected in the most public place of the city: he then ordered the Milesians, at an appointed period, to commence a scene of feasting and convivial mirth.

XXII. Thrasybulus intended the Sardinian ambassador should inform his master of the scene of festivity, and of the abundance of provisions he had beheld. He was not disappointed: the herald witnessed the above-mentioned spectacle, delivered his message, and returned to Sardis. This, as I have been informed, was the real occasion of the peace which ensued.

Alyattes had imagined, that the Milesians suffered exceedingly from the scarcity of corn, and were reduced to extreme distress. The return of his messenger convinced him he had been mistaken. A strict alliance was immediately formed betwixt the two nations: instead of one, Alyattes erected two temples to Minerva, and was soon afterwards restored to health. The above is a faithful account of the war betwixt Alyattes and the Milesians.

XXIII. Periander, the son of Cypselus, who com-

municated to Thrasybulus the reply of the oracle, was king of Corinth. A most wonderful incident is said by the Corinthians to have happened in his time, and the story is confirmed by the Lesbians.\* It is asserted, that Arion the Methymnæan was carried to Tænarus on the back of a dolphin. He excelled all his contemporaries in his exquisite performance on the harp; and we have reason to suppose he was the first who invented, named, and taught at Corinth, the Dithyrambic measure.

XXIV. This Arion, they say, after residing for a considerable time at the court of Periander, was desirous of visiting Italy and Sicily. Having there acquired considerable wealth, he wished to return with it to Corinth: with this view, he embarked at Tarentum in a Corinthian vessel, preferring the mariners of that nation. As soon as they stood out to sea, the sailors determined to destroy Arion, for the sake of his riches. He discovered their intentions, and offered them his money, to preserve his life. The men were obdurate, and insisted, that he should either kill himself, that they might bury him on shore, or leap instantly into the sea. Reduced to this extremity, he entreated, that if they would not spare his life, they would at least suffer him to dress himself in his most valuable clothes, and to give them a specimen of his art in singing; promising, that as soon as he had finished, he would destroy himself. They were anxious to hear a man, reputed the greatest performer in the world, and, in compliance with his request, retired from him to the middle of their vessel. He accordingly adorned himself splendidly, and, standing on the side of the ship with his harp in his hand, he sang to them a species of song, termed Orthian. As soon as he had finished, he threw himself, dressed as he was, into the sea. The mariners pursued their course to Corinth; but he, it is affirmed, was taken up by a dolphin and carried to Tænarus. As soon as he got on shore, he went, without changing his dress, to Corinth, and on his arrival told what had befallen him. Periander disbelieved his story; and, keeping him in close custody, endeavoured to find out the crew.

When they appeared before him, he inquired if they could give him any intelligence of Arion; they replied, that his excursion to Italy had been successful, and that they had left him well at Tarentum. Arion then showed himself, dressed as they had seen him leap into the sea: overcome with terror, they confessed their crime. This event is related both by the Corinthians and the Lesbians; and there remains at Tænarus a small figure in brass, of a man seated on a dolphin's back, the votive offering of Arion himself.

XXV. When he had put an end to the Milesian war, and after a reign of fifty-seven years, Alyattes died. He was the second of his family who made an offering at Delphi, which he did in consequence of his recovery from illness. He presented a large silver goblet, with a saucer of iron, curiously inlaid; it is of surprising workmanship, and as worthy of observation as any of the offerings preserved at Delphi. The name of the maker was Glaucus, an inhabitant of Chios, and the inventor of this art of inlaying iron.

XXVI. On the death of his father, Cræsus succeeded to the throne; he began to reign at the age of thirty-five, and he immediately commenced hostilities with the Ephesians. Whilst he besieged Ephesus with an army, the inhabitants made a solemn dedication of their city to Minerva, connecting with a rope their walls to the temple of the goddess. This temple is at a distance of about seven stadia from the old town, which was then besieged. These Cræsus attacked first. Soon afterwards he made war on every state, both of the Ionians and the Æolians: the motives which he assigned were various, important in some instances, but, when such could not be found, frivolous pretexts sufficed.

XXVII. Not satisfied with compelling the Asiatic Greeks to pay him tribute, he determined to build a fleet, and attack those who lived in the islands. He was deterred from this purpose, although he had made great preparations, by the memorable reply of Bias of Priene, who was at that time in Sardis; or, as others say, of Pittacus of Mitylene. The king was inquiring of this person whether there was any news

from Greece: "The Islanders, sir," he replied, "are collecting a body of ten thousand horse, to attack you and Sardis." The king, supposing him serious, said, he hoped the gods might put it into the minds of the Islanders to invade the Lydians with cavalry. The other thus interrupted him: "Your wish to see the inhabitants of the islands pursue such measures, is certainly reasonable; but do you not imagine, that your building a fleet to attack the Islanders, must give them equal satisfaction? They can wish for no better opportunity of revenging the cause of those Greeks on the continent, reduced by you to servitude, than by meeting the Lydians on the ocean." The wisdom of the remark was acceptable to Cræsus: he declined all thoughts of constructing a fleet, and entered into an amicable alliance with the Ionians of the Islands.

XXVIII. He afterwards progressively subdued almost all the nations which are situate on this side the river Halys. The Cilicians and the Lycians alone, were not brought under his yoke; but he totally vanquished the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandinians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians.

XXIX. After Cræsus had obtained all these victories, and extended the power of the Lydians, Sardis became the resort of the great and the affluent, as well as of those who were celebrated in Greece for their talents and their wisdom. Among these was Solon: at the request of the Athenians, he had formed a code of laws for their use. He had then engaged in a course of travels, which was to be of ten years continuance; his avowed purpose was of a philosophical nature; but his real object was to avoid the necessity of abrogating the laws he had enacted. The Athenians were of themselves unable to do this, having bound themselves, by the most solemn oaths, to preserve inviolate, for ten years, the institutions of Solon.

XXX. On account of these laws, as well as to see the world, Solon in his travels had visited Amasis, in Egypt, and came now to Cræsus, at Sardis. He was

received on his arrival with the kindest hospitality, and entertained in the palace of Cræsus. In a few days, the king directed his servants to attend Solon to the different repositories of his wealth, and to show him their splendid and valuable contents. When he had observed them all, Cræsus thus addressed him:—  
“My Athenian guest, the voice of fame speaks loudly of your wisdom. I have heard much of your travels; that you have been led, by a truly philosophic spirit, to visit a considerable portion of the globe. I am hence induced to inquire of you, what man, of all whom you have beheld, seemed to you most happy?”  
The expectation of being himself esteemed the happiest of mankind, prompted his inquiry. Solon proved by his reply, his attachment to truth, and abhorrence of flattery. “I think,” said he, “O king, that Tellus the Athenian best deserved the appellation of happy.” Cræsus was astonished: “On what,” he asked, “were the claims of Tellus, to this distinction, founded?”  
“Because,” answered Solon, “under the protection of a most excellent form of government, Tellus had many virtuous and amiable children; he saw their offspring, and they all survived him: at the close of a prosperous life, we celebrated his funeral, with every circumstance of honour. In a contest with some of their neighbours, at Eleusis, he flew to the assistance of his countrymen: he contributed to the defeat of the enemy, and met death in the field of glory. The Athenians publicly buried him, in the place where he fell; and his funeral pomp was magnificently attended.”

XXXI. Solon was continuing to make respectful mention of Tellus, when Cræsus anxiously interrupted him, and desired to know, whom, next to Tellus, he esteemed most happy; not doubting but the answer would now be favourable to himself. “Cleobis and Bito,” replied Solon: “they were Argives by birth, fortunate in their circumstances, and so remarkable for their bodily prowess, that they had both of them been crowned as conquerors in their public games. It is further related of them, that on a certain festival of Juno, their mother was to have been

carried to the temple in a chariot drawn by oxen. The beasts were not ready for the purpose; but the young men instantly took the yoke upon themselves, and drew their mother in the carriage to the temple, through a space of forty-five furlongs. Having performed this in the presence of innumerable spectators, they terminated their lives in a manner which was singularly fortunate. In this event, the deity made it appear that death is a greater blessing to mankind, than life. The surrounding multitude proclaimed their praise: the men commended their prowess; the women envied their mother; who was delighted with the deed itself, and the glory which attended it. Standing before the shrine, she implored the divinity, in whose honour her sons' exertions had been made, to grant them the greatest blessing man could receive. After her prayers, and when the succeeding sacrifice and festival was ended, the young men retired to rest within the temple; but they rose no more. The Argives have preserved at Delphi, the figures of Cleobis and Bito, as of men deserving superior distinction." This, according to Solon's estimate, was happiness in the second degree.

XXXII. Cræsus was still dissatisfied: "Man of Athens," he resumed, "think you so meanly of my prosperity, as to place me even beneath men of private and obscure condition?" "Cræsus," he replied, "you inquire of me my sentiments of human nature; of me, who consider the divine beings as viewing men with invidious and malignant aspects. In the space of a protracted life, how many things occur, which we see with reluctance and support with anguish. I will suppose the term of human life to extend to seventy years; this period, if we except the intercalary months, will amount to twenty-five thousand two hundred days; to make our computation regular and exact, suppose we add this month to each alternate year, we shall then have thirty-five additional months, or one thousand two hundred and fifty days. The whole seventy years will therefore consist of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days; yet of this number every day will be productive of some new in-

cident. Thus, Cræsus, our nature appears a continued series of calamity. I see you as the sovereign of many nations, and possessed of extraordinary affluence and power. But I shall not be able to give a satisfactory answer to the question you propose, till I know that your scene of life shall have closed with tranquillity. The man of affluence is not, in fact, more happy than the possessor of a bare sufficiency ; unless, in addition to his wealth, his end of life be fortunate. We often discern misery in the midst of splendid plenty, whilst real happiness is found in humbler stations. The rich man, who knows not happiness, surpasses but in two things the humbler but more fortunate character, with whom we compare him. Yet there are a variety of incidents in which the latter excels the former. The rich man can gratify his passions ; and has little to apprehend from accidental injuries. The poor man's condition exempts him entirely from these sources of affliction. He, moreover, possesses strength and health ; a stranger to misfortune, he is blessed in his children, and amiable in himself. If at the end of such a life, his death be fortunate, this, O king, is the truly happy man ; the object of your inquiry. Call no man happy till you know the nature of his death ; he is at best but fortunate. All these requisites for happiness it is in no man's power to obtain, for no one region can supply them ; it affords, perhaps, the enjoyment of some, but it is remarkable for the absence of others. That which yields the more numerous sources of gratification, is so far the best : such also is the imperfection of man, excellent in some respects, weak and defective in others. He who possesses the most advantages, and afterwards leaves the world with composure, he alone, O Cræsus, is entitled to our admiration. It is the part of wisdom to look to the event of things ; for the Deity often overwhelms with misery, those who have formerly been placed at the summit of felicity.

XXXIII. To these words of Solon, Cræsus refused both his esteem and praise, and he afterwards dismissed the philosopher with indifference. The sentiment

which prompts us not to be elated with temporary bliss, but to look beyond the present moment, appeared to Cræsus neither wise nor just.

XXXIV. Solon was no sooner departed, than, as if to punish Cræsus for his arrogance, in esteeming himself the happiest of mankind, a wonderful event befel him, which seemed a visitation from heaven. He saw in his sleep a vision, menacing the calamity which afterwards deprived him of his son: Cræsus had two sons; the one marked by natural defect, being dumb; the other, whose name was Atys, was distinguished by his superior accomplishments. The intimation of the vision which Cræsus saw, was, that Atys should die by the point of an iron spear. Roused and terrified by his dream, he revolved the matter seriously in his mind. His first step was to settle his son in marriage: he then took from him the command of the Lydian troops, whom he before conducted in their warlike expeditions: the spears and darts, with every other kind of hostile weapon, he removed from the apartments of the men to those of the women, that his son might not suffer injury from the fall of them, as they were suspended.

XXXV. Whilst the nuptials of this son employed his attention, an unfortunate homicide arrived at Sardis, a Phrygian by nation, and of the royal family. He presented himself at the palace of Cræsus, from whom he required and received expiation with the usual ceremonies. The Lydian mode of expiation nearly resembles that of the Greeks. When Cræsus had performed what custom exacted, he inquired who and whence he was. "From what part," said he, "of Phrygia, do you come? why are you a suppliant to me? what man or woman have you slain?" "O king!" replied the stranger, "I am the son of Gordius, who was the son of Midas. My name is Adrastus: unwillingly I have killed my brother, for which I am banished by my father, and rendered entirely destitute." "You come," replied Cræsus, "of a family whom I esteem my friends. My protection shall, in return, be extended to you. You shall reside in my palace, and

be provided with every necessary. You will do well not to suffer your misfortune to distress you too much." Cræsus then received him into his family.

XXXVI. There appeared about this time, near Olympus, in Mysia, a wild boar of an extraordinary size, which, issuing from the mountain, did great injury to the Mysians. They had frequently attacked it; but their attempts to destroy it, so far from proving successful, had been attended with loss to themselves. In the extremity, therefore, of their distress, they sent to Cræsus a message of the following import: "There has appeared among us, O king! a wild boar of a most extraordinary size, injuring us much; but to destroy which all our most strenuous endeavours have proved ineffectual. We entreat you, therefore, to send to us your son, at the head of a chosen band, with a number of dogs, to relieve us from this formidable animal." Cræsus, remembering his dream, answered them thus: "Of my son you must forbear to make mention: him I cannot send; he is lately married, and his time and attention sufficiently employed. But a chosen band of Lydians, hunters and dogs, shall attend you; and I shall charge them to take every possible means of relieving you, as soon as possible, from the attacks of the boar."

XXXVII. This answer of Cræsus satisfied the Mysians; but the young man hearing of the matter, and that his father had refused the solicitations of the Mysians for him to accompany them, hastened to the presence of the king, and spoke to him as follows: "It was formerly, sir, esteemed, in our nation, both excellent and honourable to seek renown in war, or in the hunting of wild beasts; but you now deprive me of both those opportunities of signalizing myself, without having reason to accuse me either of cowardice or sloth. Whenever I now am seen in public, how mean and contemptible shall I appear! How will my fellow-citizens, or my new wife, esteem me? what can be her opinion of the man whom she has married? Suffer me, then, sir, either to proceed on this expedition, or condescend to convince me that the motives of your refusal are reasonable and sufficient."

XXXVIII. "My son," replied Cræsus, "I do not in any respect think unfavourably of your courage, or your conduct. My behaviour towards you is influenced by a vision, which has lately warned me that your life will be short, and that you must perish from the wound of an iron spear. This first of all induced me to accelerate your nuptials, and also to refuse your presence in the proposed expedition, wishing, by my caution, to preserve you at least as long as I shall live. I esteem you as my only son; for your brother, on account of his infirmity, is in a manner lost to me."

XXXIX. "Having had such a vision," replied Atys to his father, "I can easily forgive your anxiety concerning me: but as you apparently misconceive the matter, suffer me to explain what seems to have escaped you. The vision, as you affirm, intimated that my death should be occasioned by the point of a spear; but what arms or spear has a wild boar, that you should dread? If, indeed, it had been told you that I was to perish by a tusk, or something of a similar nature, your conduct would have been strictly proper; but, as a spear's point is the object of your alarm, and we are not going to contend with men, I hope for your permission to join this party."

XL. "Son," answered Cræsus, "your reasoning, concerning my dream, has induced me to alter my opinion, and I permit you to go to this chase."

XLI. The king then sent for Adrastus the Phrygian; whom, on his appearing, he thus addressed: "I do not mean to remind you of your former calamities: but you must have in memory, that I expiated you in your distress, took you into my family, and supplied all your necessities. I have now, therefore, to solicit that return of kindness, which my conduct claims. In this proposed hunting excursion, you must be the guardian of my son: preserve him on the way from any secret treachery, which may threaten your common security. It is consistent that you should go where bravery may be distinguished, and reputation gained: valour has been the distinction of your family, and with personal vigour has descended to yourself."

XLII. "At your request, O king!" replied Adras-

tus, "I shall comply with what I should otherwise have refused. It becomes not a man like myself, oppressed by so great a calamity, to appear among my more fortunate equals: I have never wished, and I have frequently avoided it. My gratitude, in the present instance, impels me to obey your commands. I will therefore engage to accompany and guard your son, and promise, as far as my care can avail, to restore him to you safe."

XLIII. Immediately a band of youths were selected, the dogs of chase prepared, and the train departed. Arriving in the vicinity of Olympus, they sought the beast; and having found his haunt, they surrounded it in a body, and attacked him with their spears. It so happened, that the stranger Adrastus, who had been purified for murder, directing a blow at the boar, missed his aim, and killed the son of Cræsus. Thus he was destroyed by the point of a spear, and the vision proved to be prophetic. A messenger immediately hastened to Sardis, informing Cræsus of the event which occasioned the death of his son.

XLIV. Cræsus, much as he was afflicted with his domestic loss, bore it the less patiently, because it was inflicted by him whom he had himself purified and protected. He broke into violent complaints at his misfortune, and invoked Jupiter, the deity of expiation, in attestation of the injury he had received. He invoked him also as the guardian of hospitality and friendship; of hospitality, because, in receiving a stranger, he had received the murderer of his son; of friendship, because the man whose aid he might have expected, had proved his greatest enemy.

XLV. Whilst his thoughts were thus occupied, the Lydians appeared with the body of his son: the homicide followed. He advanced towards Cræsus, and with extended hands, implored that he might suffer death upon the body of him whom he had slain. He recited his former calamities; to which was now to be added, that he was the destroyer of the man who had expiated him: he was consequently no longer fit to live. Cræsus listened to him with attention; and, al-

though oppressed by his own paternal grief, he could not refuse his compassion to Adrastus; to whom he spake as follows: "My friend, I am sufficiently revenged by your voluntary condemnation of yourself. You are not guilty of this event, for you did it without design. The offended deity, who warned me of the evil, has accomplished it." Cræsus, therefore, buried his son with the proper ceremonies: but the unfortunate descendant of Midas, who had killed his brother and his friend, retired at the dead of night to the place where Atys was buried, and, confessing himself to be the most miserable of mankind, slew himself on the tomb.

XLVI. The two years which succeeded the death of his son, were passed by Cræsus in extreme affliction. His grief was at length suspended by the increasing greatness of the Persian empire, as well as by that of Cyrus son of Cambyzes, who had deprived Astyages, son of Cyaxares, of his dominions. To restrain the power of Persia, before it should become too great and too extensive, was the object of his solicitude. Listening to these suggestions, he determined to consult the different oracles of Greece, and also that of Libya; and for this purpose he sent messengers to Delphi, the Phocian Abas, and to Dodona: he sent also to Amphiaraus, Trophonius, and the Milesian Branchidæ. The above-mentioned are the oracles which Cræsus consulted in Greece: he sent also to the Libyan Ammon. His motive in these consultations, was to form an idea of the truth of the oracles respectively, meaning afterwards to obtain from them, a decisive opinion concerning an expedition against the Persians.

XLVII. He took this method of proving the truth of their different communications. He settled with his Lydian messengers, that each should consult the different oracles, on the hundredth day of their departure from Sardis, and respectively ask what Cræsus the son of Atyattës was doing: they were to write down, and communicate to Cræsus, the reply of each particular oracle. Of the oracular answers in general we have no account remaining; but the Lydians had no

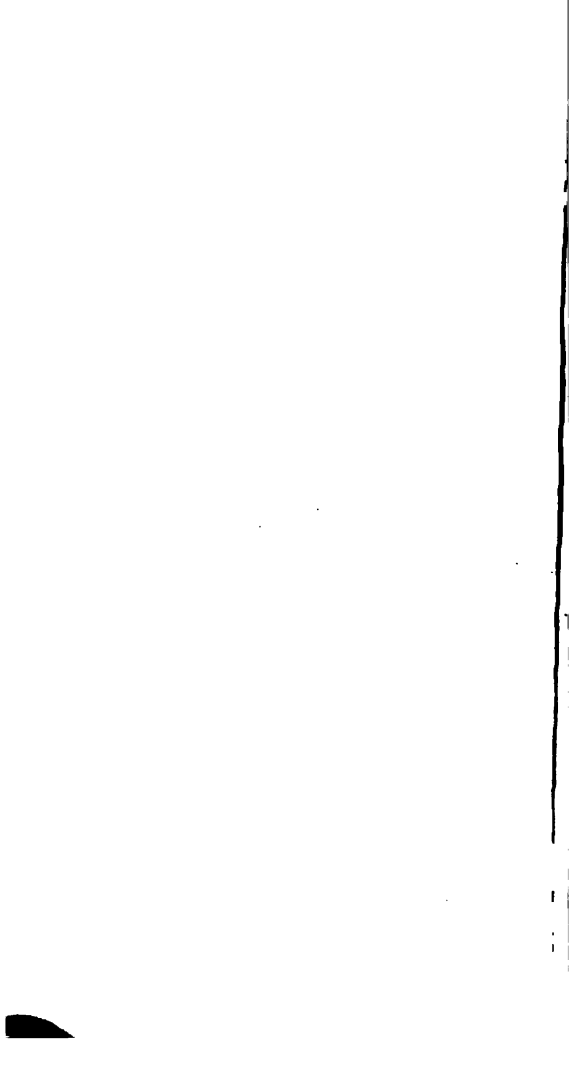
sooner entered the temple of Delphi, and proposed their questions, than the Pythian answered thus, in heroic verse :

I count the sand, I measure out the sea ;  
The silent and the dumb are heard by me :  
E'en now the odours to my sense that rise,  
A tortoise boiling with a lamb supplies,  
Where brass below and brass above it lies.

**XLVIII.** They wrote down the communication of the Pythian, and returned to Sardis. Of the answers which his other messengers brought on their return, Cræsus found none which were satisfactory. But a fervour of gratitude and piety was excited in him, as soon as he was informed of the reply of the Pythian ; and he exclaimed, without reserve, that there was no true oracle but at Delphi, for this alone had explained his employment at the stipulated time. It seems, that on the day appointed for his servants to consult the different oracles, determining to do what it would be equally difficult to discover or explain, he had cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered vessel of brass.

**XLIX.** I have before related what was the answer of the Delphic oracle to Cræsus : what reply the Lydians received from Amphiaraus, after the usual religious ceremonies, I am not able to affirm ; of this it is only asserted, that its answer was satisfactory to Cræsus.

**L.** Cræsus, after these things, determined to conciliate the divinity of Delphi, by a great and magnificent sacrifice. He offered up three thousand chosen victims ; he collected a great number of couches decorated with gold and silver, many goblets of gold, and vests of purple ; all these he consumed together upon one immense pile, thinking by these means to render the deity more auspicious to his hopes : he persuaded his subjects also to offer up, in like manner, the proper objects for sacrifice they respectively possessed. As, at the conclusion of the above ceremony, a considerable quantity of gold had run together, he formed of it a number of tiles. The larger of these were six palms long, the smaller three, but none of them were



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less than a palm in thickness, and they were one hundred and seventeen in number: four were of the purest gold, weighing each one talent and a half; the rest of inferior quality, but of the weight of two talents. He constructed also a lion of pure gold, which weighed ten talents. It was originally placed in the Delphian temple, on the above gold tiles; but when this edifice was burned, it fell from its place, and now stands in the Corinthian treasury: it lost, however, by the fire, three talents and a half of its former weight.

LI. Cræsus, moreover, sent to Delphi two large cisterns, one of gold, and one of silver: that of gold was placed on the right hand, in the vestibule of the temple; the silver was placed on the left. These also were removed when the temple was consumed by fire: the golden goblet weighed eight talents and a half and twelve minæ, and was afterwards placed in the Clazomenian treasury: that of silver is capable of holding six hundred amphoræ; it is placed at the entrance of the temple, and used by the inhabitants of Delphi in their Theophanian festival: they assert it to have been the work of Theodorus of Samos; to which opinion, as it is evidently the production of no mean artist, I am inclined to accede. The Corinthian treasury also possesses four silver casks, which were sent by Cræsus, in addition to the above, to Delphi. His munificence did not yet cease: he presented also two basins, one of gold, another of silver. An inscription on that of gold, asserts it to have been the gift of the Lacedæmonians; but it is not true, for this also was the gift of Cræsus. To gratify the Lacedæmonians, a certain Delphian wrote this inscription: I know his name, but forbear to disclose it. The boy through whose hand the water flows, was given by the Lacedæmonians; the basins undoubtedly were not.—Many other smaller presents accompanied these; among which were some silver dishes, and the figure of a woman in gold, three cubits high, who, according to the Delphians, was the person who made bread for the family of Cræsus. This prince, besides all that we have enumerated, consecrated at Delphi his wife's necklaces and girdles.

**LII.** To Amphiaraus, having heard of his valour and misfortunes, he sent a shield of solid gold, with a strong spear made entirely of gold, both shaft and head. These were all, within my memory, preserved at Thebes, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo.

**LIII.** The Lydians, who were intrusted with the care of these presents, were directed to inquire whether Cræsus might auspiciously undertake an expedition against the Persians, and whether he should procure any confederate assistance. On their arrival at the destined places, they deposited their presents, and made their inquiries of the oracles precisely in the following terms:—"Cræsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, esteems these the only genuine oracles; in return for the sagacity which has marked your declarations, he sends these proofs of his liberality: he finally desires to know whether he may proceed against the Persians, and whether he should require the assistance of allies." The answers of the oracles tended to the same purpose; both of them assuring Cræsus, that if he prosecuted a war with Persia, he should overthrow a mighty empire; and both recommended him to form an alliance with the most powerful states of Greece.

**LIV.** The report of these communications transported Cræsus with excess of joy: elated with the idea of becoming the conqueror of Cyrus, he sent again to Delphi, inquired the number of inhabitants there, and presented each with two golden staters. In acknowledgment for his liberality, the Delphians assigned to Cræsus and the Lydians the privilege of first consulting the oracle, in preference to other nations; a distinguished seat in their temple; together with the immutable right, to such of them as pleased to accept it, of being enrolled among the citizens of Delphi.

**LV.** After the above-mentioned marks of his munificence to the Delphians, Cræsus consulted their oracle a third time. His experience of its veracity increased the ardour of his curiosity; he was now anxious to be informed whether his power would be perpetual. The following was the answer of the Pythian:

When o'er the Medes a mule shall sit on high,  
O'er pebbly Hermus then, soft Lydian, fly ;  
Fly with all haste ; for safety scorn thy fame,  
Nor scruple to deserve a coward's name.

LVI. When the above verses were communicated to Cræsus, he was more delighted than ever ; confident that a mule would never be the sovereign of the Medes, and that consequently he could have nothing to fear for himself or his posterity. His first object was to discover which were the most powerful of the Grecian states, and to obtain their alliance. The Lacedæmonians of Doric, and the Athenians of Ionian origin, seemed to claim his distinguished preference. These nations, always eminent, were formerly known by the appellation of Pelasgians and Hellenians. The former had never changed their place of residence ; the latter often. Under the reign of Deucalion, the Hellenians possessed the region of Phthiotis ; but under Dorus the son of Hellenus, they inhabited the country called Istiæotis, which borders upon Ossa and Olympus. They were driven from hence by the Cadmæans, and fixed themselves in Macednum, near the mount Pindus : migrating from thence to Dryopis, and afterwards to the Peloponnesus, they were known by the name of Dorians.

LVII. What language the Pelasgians used, I cannot positively affirm : some probable conclusion may perhaps be formed, by attending to the dialect of the remnant of the Pelasgians, who now inhabit Crestona beyond the Tyrrhenians, but who formerly dwelt in the country now called Thessaliotis, and were neighbours to those whom we at present name Dorians. Considering these with the above, who founded the cities of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, but once lived near the Athenians, together with the people of other Pelasgian towns who have since changed their names, it is upon the whole reasonable to affirm, that they formerly spoke a barbarous language. The Athenians, therefore, who were also of Pelasgian origin, must necessarily, when they came amongst the Hellenians, have learned their language. It is observable, that the inhabitants of Crestona and Placia speak

in the same tongue, but are neither of them understood by the people about them. These circumstances induce me to believe, that their language has experienced no change.

LVIII. I am also of opinion, that the Hellenian tongue is not at all altered. When first they separated themselves from the Pelasgians, they were neither numerous nor powerful. They have since progressively increased; having incorporated many nations, Barbarians and others, with their own. The Pelasgians have always avoided this mode of increasing their importance; which may be one reason, probably, why they never have emerged from their original and barbarous condition.

LIX. Of these nations, Cræsus had received information, that Athens suffered much from the oppression of Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates, who at this time possessed the supreme authority. The father of this man, when he was formerly a private spectator of the Olympic games, beheld a wonderful prodigy: Having sacrificed a victim, the brazen vessels, which were filled with the flesh and with water, boiled up and overflowed without the intervention of fire. Chilon the Lacedæmonian, who was an accidental witness of the fact, advised Hippocrates, first of all, not to marry a woman likely to produce him children: secondly, if he was already married, to repudiate his wife; but if he had then a son, by all means to expose him. Hippocrates was not at all disposed to follow this counsel, and had afterwards this son Pisistratus. A tumult happened betwixt those who dwelt on the sea-coast, and those who inhabited the plains: of the former, Megacles the son of Alcimæon was leader, Lycurgus, son of Aristolaides, was at the head of the latter. Pisistratus took this opportunity of accomplishing the views of his ambition. Under pretence of defending those of the mountains, he assembled some factious adherents, and put in practice the following stratagem: He not only wounded himself, but his mules, which he drove into the forum, affecting to have made his escape from the enemy, who had attacked him in

a country excursion. He claimed, therefore, the protection of the people, in return for the services which he had performed in his command against the Megarians, by his capture of Nisæa, and by other memorable exploits. The Athenians were deluded by his artifice, and assigned some of their chosen citizens as his guard, armed with clubs, instead of spears. These seconded the purpose of Pisistratus, and seized the citadel. He thus obtained the supreme power; but he neither changed the magistrates, nor altered the laws: he suffered every thing to be conducted in its ordinary course; and his government was alike honourable to himself and useful to the city. The factions of Megacles and Lycurgus afterwards united, and expelled him from Athens.

LX. By these means Pisistratus became for the first time master of Athens, and obtained an authority which was far from being secure.

The parties, however, which effected his expulsion, presently disagreed. Megacles, being hard pressed by his opponent, sent proposals to Pisistratus, offering him the supreme power, on condition of his marrying his daughter. Pisistratus acceded to the terms; and a method was concerted to accomplish his return, which to me seems exceedingly preposterous. The Grecians, from the remotest times, were distinguished from the Barbarians by their acuteness; and the Athenians, upon whom this trick was played, were of all the Greeks the most eminent for their sagacity. There was a Pæanian woman, whose name was Phya; she wanted but three digits of being four cubits high, and was, moreover, remarkably beautiful. She was dressed in a suit of armour, placed in a chariot, and decorated with the greatest possible splendour. She was conducted toward the city; heralds were sent before, who, as soon as they arrived within the walls of Athens, were instructed to exclaim aloud—"Athenians, receive Pisistratus again, and with good will; he is the great favourite of Minerva, and the goddess herself comes to conduct him to her citadel." The rumour soon spread amongst the multitude, that Minerva was

bringing back Pisistratus. Those in the city being told that this woman was their goddess, prostrated themselves before her, and admitted Pisistratus.

LXI. By these means the son of Hippocrates recovered his authority, and fulfilled the terms of his agreement with Megacles, by marrying his daughter. But, as he had already sons grown up, and as the Alcmaeonides were stigmatized by some imputed contamination, to avoid having children by this marriage, he refused all natural communication with his wife. This incident, which the woman for a certain time concealed, she afterwards revealed to her mother, in consequence, perhaps, of her inquiries. The father was soon informed of it, who, exasperated by the affront, forgot his ancient resentments, and entered into a league with those, whom he had formerly opposed. Pisistratus, seeing the danger which menaced him, hastily left the country, and, retiring to Eretria, there deliberated with his sons concerning their future conduct. The sentiments of Hippias, which were for attempting the recovery of their dignity, prevailed. They met with no difficulty in procuring assistance from the neighbouring states, amongst whom a prejudice in their favour generally existed. Many cities assisted them largely with money; but the Thebans were particularly liberal. Not to protract the narration, every preparation was made to facilitate their return. A band of Argive mercenaries came from the Peloponnese; and an inhabitant of Naxos, named Lygdamis, gave new alacrity to their proceedings, by his unsolicited assistance both with money and with troops.

LXII. After an absence of eleven years, they advanced to Attica from Eretria, and seized on Marathon, in the vicinity of which they encamped. They were soon visited by throngs of factious citizens from Athens, and by all those who preferred tyranny to freedom. Their number was thus soon and considerably increased. Whilst Pisistratus was providing himself with money, and even when he was stationed at Marathon, the Athenians of the city appeared to be under no alarm: but when they heard that he had left

his post, and was advancing toward them, they began to assemble their forces, and to think of obstructing his return. Pisistratus continued to approach with his men, in one collected body : he halted at the temple of the Pallanian Minerva, opposite to which he fixed his camp. Whilst he remained in this situation, Amphylutus, a priest of Acarnania, approached him, and, as if by divine inspiration, thus addressed him in heroic verse:

The cast is made ; the net secures the way ;  
And night's pale gleams will bring the scaly prey.

LXIII. Pisistratus considered the declaration as prophetic, and prepared his troops accordingly. The Athenians of the city were then engaged at their dinner ; after which they retired to the amusement of dice, or to sleep. The party of Pisistratus, then making the attack, soon compelled them to fly. Pisistratus, in the course of the pursuit, put in execution the following sagacious stratagem, to continue their confusion, and prevent their rallying : he placed his sons on horseback, and directed them to overtake the fugitives ; they were commissioned to bid them remove their apprehensions, and pursue their usual employments.

LXIV. The Athenians took him at his word, and Pisistratus thus became a third time master of Athens. He by no means neglected to secure his authority, by retaining many confederate troops, and providing pecuniary resources, partly from Attica itself, and partly from the river Strymon. The children of those citizens, who, instead of retreating from his arms, had opposed his progress, he took as hostages, and sent to the island of Naxos ; which place he had before subdued, and given up to Lygdamis. In compliance also with an oracular injunction, he purified Delos : all the dead bodies which lay within a certain distance of the temple, were, by his orders, dug up, and removed to another part of the island. By the death of some of the Athenians in battle, and by the flight of others with the Alcmaeonides, he remained in undisturbed possession of the supreme authority.

LXV. Such was the intelligence which Cræsus

received concerning the situation of Athens. With respect to the Lacedæmonians, after suffering many important defeats, they had finally vanquished the Tegeans. Whilst Sparta was under the government of Leon and Hegesicles, the Lacedæmonians, successful in other contests, had been inferior to the Tegeans alone : of all the Grecian states, they had formerly the worst laws ; bad with regard to their own internal government, and intolerable to strangers. They obtained good laws, by means of the following circumstance : Lycurgus, a man of distinguished character at Sparta, happened to visit the Delphic oracle. As soon as he had entered the vestibule, the Pythian exclaimed aloud,

Thou com'st, Lycurgus, to this honour'd shrine,  
Favour'd by Jove, and ev'ry pow'r divine.  
Or god or mortal ! how shall I decide ?  
Doubtless to heav'n most dear and most allied.

It is farther asserted by some, that the priestess dictated to him those institutes which are now observed at Sparta : but the Lacedæmonians themselves affirm, that Lycurgus brought them from Crete, while he was guardian to his nephew Leobotas king of Sparta. In consequence of this trust, having obtained the direction of the legislature, he made a total change in the constitution, and took effectual care to secure a strict observance of whatever he introduced : he new-modelled the military code, appointing the Enomotie, the Triacades, and the Syssitia ; he instituted also the Ephori and the senate.

LXVI. The manners of the people became thus more polished and improved : after his death, they revered Lycurgus as a divinity, and erected a sacred edifice to his memory. From this period, having a good and populous territory, they rapidly rose to prosperity and power. Dissatisfied with the languor and inactivity of peace, and conceiving themselves in all respects superior to the Tegeans, they sent to consult the oracle concerning the entire conquest of Arcadia. The Pythian thus answered them :

Ask ye Arcadia ? 'tis a bold demand :  
A rough and hardy race defend the land ;

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expected, during the first year of his visit different countries, on the

when in this situation, made the partly by good fortune, and generosity. They had at this time a smith with the Tegeans; and Lichas observed with the process of working iron. The of his attention, and desisted from of Sparta," said he, "you seem which you contemplate; but how your wonder be excited, if you able to communicate! Near this digging a well, I found a coffin seven believed that men were formerly more than at present; but when I found a body equal in length to the measured it, and placed it where I after hearing his relation, was inclined that this might be the body of Orestes, which the oracle had spoken. He was when he recollected, that the belief might intimate the two winds; the manner might express one form opposite, also, which was beaten, might about ill, rightly conceiving that the led to the injury of mankind. With mind, he returned to Sparta, and re his countrymen; who, immediately, some imputed crime, sent him into returned to Tegea, told his misfortune and hired of him the ground, which positively to part with. He resided space of time, when, digging up the bones, and returned with The Lacedæmonians had previously of a great part of the Pelopon- the above-mentioned event, their Tegeans were attended with unin-

duly informed of all these cir-

Repuls'd by them, one only boon you gain,  
 With frequent foot to dance on Tégea's plain,  
 And o'er her fields the measuring-cord to strain.

No sooner had the Lacedæmonians received this reply, than, leaving the other parts of Arcadia unmolested, they proceeded to attack the Tegeans, carrying a quantity of fetters with them. They relied upon the evasive declaration of the oracle, and imagined that they should infallibly reduce the Tegeans to servitude. They engaged them, and were defeated: as many as were taken captive, were loaded with the fetters which themselves had brought, and thus employed in laborious service in the fields of the Tegeans. These chains were preserved, even in my remembrance, in Tégea, suspended round the temple of the Alean Minerva.

LXVII. In the beginning of their contests with the Tegeans, they were uniformly unsuccessful; but in the time of Cræsus, when Anaxandrides and Ariston had the government of Sparta, they experienced a favourable change of fortune, which is thus to be explained:

Having repeatedly been defeated by the Tegeans, they sent to consult the Delphic oracle, what particular deity they had to appease, to become victorious over their adversaries. The Pythian assured them of success, if they brought back the body of Orestes, son of Agamemnon. Unable to discover his tomb, they sent a second time, to inquire concerning the place of his interment. The following was the oracular communication:

A plain within the Arcadian land I know,  
 Where double winds with forc'd exertion blow,  
 Where form to form with mutual strength replies,  
 And ill by other ills supported lies:  
 That earth contains the great Atrides' son;  
 Take him, and conquer: Tega then is won.

After the above, the search for the body was without intermission continued: it was at length discovered by Lichas, one of those Spartans distinguished by the name of Agathoergoi; which title was usually conferred, after a long period of service among the cavalry. Of these citizens, five were every year permitted to

retire; but were expected, during the first year of their discharge, to visit different countries, on the business of the public.

LXVIII. Lichas, when in this situation, made the wished-for discovery, partly by good fortune, and partly by his own sagacity. They had at this time a commercial intercourse with the Tegeans; and Lichas happening to visit a smith at his forge, observed with particular curiosity the process of working iron. The man took notice of his attention, and desisted from his labour. "Stranger of Sparta," said he, "you seem to admire the art which you contemplate; but how much more would your wonder be excited, if you knew all that I am able to communicate! Near this place, as I was sinking a well, I found a coffin seven cubits long; I never believed that men were formerly of larger dimensions than at present; but when I opened it, I discovered a body equal in length to the coffin; I correctly measured it, and placed it where I found it." Lichas, after hearing his relation, was induced to believe that this might be the body of Orestes, concerning which the oracle had spoken. He was farther convinced, when he recollected, that the bellows of the smith might intimate the two winds; the anvil and the hammer might express one form opposing another; the iron, also, which was beaten, might signify ill succeeding ill, rightly conceiving that the use of iron operated to the injury of mankind. With these ideas in his mind, he returned to Sparta, and related the matter to his countrymen; who, immediately, under pretence of some imputed crime, sent him into banishment. He returned to Tegea, told his misfortune to the smith, and hired of him the ground, which he at first refused positively to part with. He resided there for a certain space of time, when, digging up the body, he collected the bones, and returned with them to Sparta. The Lacedæmonians had previously obtained possession of a great part of the Peloponnese; and, after the above-mentioned event, their contests with the Tegeans were attended with uninterrupted success.

LXIX. Cræsus was duly informed of all these cir-

cumstances : he accordingly sent messengers to Sparta with presents, at the same time directing them to form an offensive alliance with the people. They delivered their message in these terms : Cræsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, thus addresses himself to Sparta :—I am directed by the oracles to form a Grecian alliance ; and, as I know you to be pre-eminent above all the states of Greece, I, without collusion of any kind, desire to become your friend and ally.” The Lacedæmonians having heard of the oracular declaration to Cræsus, were rejoiced at his distinction in their favour, and instantly acceded to the proposed terms of confederacy. It is to be observed, that Cræsus had formerly rendered kindness to the Lacedæmonians : they had sent to Sardis to purchase some gold for the purpose of erecting the statue of Apollo, which is still to be seen at mount Thormax ; Cræsus presented them with all they wanted.

LXX. Influenced by this consideration, as well as by his decided partiality to them, they entered into all his views : they declared themselves ready to give such assistance as he wanted ; and, farther to mark their attachment, they prepared, as a present for the king, a brazen vessel, capable of containing three hundred amphoræ, and ornamented round the brim with the figures of various animals. This, however, never reached Sardis ; the occasion of which is thus differently explained. The Lacedæmonians affirm, that their vessel was intercepted near Samos, on its way to Sardis, by the Samians, who had fitted out some ships of war for this particular purpose. The Samians, on the contrary, assert, that the Lacedæmonians employed on this business did not arrive in time ; but hearing that Sardis was lost, and Cræsus in captivity, they disposed of their charge to some private individuals of Samos, who presented it to the temple of Juno. They who acted this part, might perhaps, on their return to Sparta, declare, that the vessel had been violently taken from them by the Samians. Such is the story of this vessel.

LXXI. Cræsus, in the mean time, deluded by the words of the oracle, prepared to lead his forces into

Cappadocia, in full expectation of becoming conqueror of Cyrus, and of Persia. Whilst he was employed in providing for this expedition, a certain Lydian named Sardanis, who had always, among his countrymen, the reputation of wisdom, and became still more memorable from this occasion, thus addressed Cræsus: "You meditate, O king! an attack upon men who are clothed with the skins of animals; who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated, live on what they can procure, not on what they wish: strangers to the taste of wine, they drink water only; even figs are a delicacy with which they are unacquainted, and all our luxuries are entirely unknown to them. If you conquer them, what can you take from such as have nothing? but if you shall be defeated, it becomes you to think, of what you on your part will be deprived. When they shall once have tasted our delicacies, we shall never again be able to get rid of them. I indeed am thankful to the gods for not inspiring the Persians with the wish of invading Lydia." Cræsus disregarded this admonition: it is nevertheless certain, that the Persians, before their conquest of Lydia, were strangers to every species of luxury.

LXXII. The Cappadocians are by the Greeks called Syrians. Before the empire of Persia existed, they were under the dominion of the Medes, though at this period in subjection to Cyrus. The different empires of the Lydians and the Medes were divided by the river Halys; which rising in a mountain of Armenia, passes through Cilicia, leaving in its progress the Matienians on the right, and Phrygia on the left: then stretching towards the north, it separates the Cappadocian Syrians from Paphlagonia, which is on the left of the stream. Thus the river Halys separates all the lower parts of Asia, from the sea which flows opposite to Cyprus, as far as the Euxine, a space over which an active man could not travel in less than five days.

LXXIII. Cræsus continued to advance toward Cappadocia; he was desirous of adding the country to his dominions, but he was principally influenced by his confidence in the oracle, and his zeal for revenging on Cyrus, the cause of Astyages. Astyages was the son of

Cyaxares king of the Medes, and brother-in-law to Cræsus; he was now vanquished, and detained in captivity by Cyrus, son of Cambyses. The affinity betwixt Cræsus and Astyages was of this nature: Some tumult having arisen among the Scythian Nomades, a number of them retired clandestinely into the territories of the Medes, where Cyaxares son of Phraortes, and grandson of Deioces, was at that time king. He received the fugitives under his protection, and, after showing them many marks of his favour, he intrusted some boys to their care, to learn the language, and the Scythian management of the bow. These Scythians employed much of their time in hunting, in which they were generally, though not always, successful. Cyaxares, it seems, was of an irritable disposition, and meeting them one day, when they returned without any game, he treated them with much insolence and asperity. They conceived themselves injured, and determined not to acquiesce in the affront. After some consultation among themselves, they determined to kill one of the children intrusted to their care, to dress him as they were accustomed to do their game, and to serve him up to Cyaxares. Having done this, they resolved to fly to Sardis, where Alyattes, son of Sadyattes, was king. They executed their purpose. Cyaxares and his guests partook of the human flesh, and the Scythians immediately sought the protection of Alyattes.

LXXIV. Cyaxares demanded their persons; on refusal of which, a war commenced betwixt the Lydians and the Medes, which continued five years. It was attended with various success; and it is remarkable, that one of their engagements took place in the night. In the sixth year, and in the midst of an engagement, when neither side could reasonably claim superiority, the day was suddenly involved in darkness. This phenomenon, and the particular period at which it was to happen, had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales, the Milesian. Awed by the solemnity of the event, the parties desisted from the engagement, and it farther influenced them both to listen to certain propositions for peace, which were made by Syennesis of

Cilicia, and Labynetus of Babylon. To strengthen the treaty, these persons also recommended a matrimonial connexion. They advised that Alyattes should give Aryenis his daughter to Astyages son of Cyaxares, from the just conviction that no political engagements are durable, unless strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds. The ceremony of concluding alliances is the same in this nation as in Greece, with this addition, that both parties wound themselves in the arm, and lick each other's blood.

LXXV. Astyages, therefore, was the grandfather of Cyrus, though at this time vanquished by him, and his captive, the particulars of which event I shall hereafter relate. This was what excited the original enmity of Cræsus, and prompted him to inquire of the oracle whether he should make war upon Persia. He interpreted the delusive reply which was given him, in a manner the most favourable to himself, and proceeded in his concerted expedition. When he arrived at the river Halys, he passed over his forces on bridges, which he there found constructed; although the Greeks in general assert, that this service was rendered him by Thales the Milesian. Whilst Cræsus was hesitating over what part of the river he should attempt a passage, as there was no bridge then constructed, Thales divided it into two branches. He sunk a deep trench, which commencing above the camp, from the river, was conducted round it in the form of a semicircle till it again met the ancient bed. It thus became easily fordable on either side. There are some who say, that the old channel was entirely dried up, to which opinion I can by no means assent, for then their return would have been equally difficult.

LXXVI. Cræsus having passed over with his army, came into that part of Cappadocia which is called Pteria, the best situated in point of strength of all that district, and near the city of Sinope, on the Euxine. He here fixed his station, and, after wasting the Syrian lands, besieged and took the Pterians' principal city. He destroyed also the neighbouring towns, and almost exterminated the Syrians, from whom he had certainly received no injury. Cyrus at length collected

his forces, and taking with him those nations which lay betwixt himself and the invader, advanced to meet him. Before he began his march, he despatched emissaries to the Ionians, with the view of detaching them from Cræsus. This not succeeding, he moved forward, and attacked Cræsus in his camp; they engaged on the plains of Pteria, with the greatest ardour on both sides. The battle was continued with equal violence and loss till night parted the combatants, leaving neither in possession of victory.

LXXVII. The army of Cræsus being inferior in number, and Cyrus on the morrow discovering no inclination to renew the engagement, the Lydian prince determined to return to Sardis, intending to claim the assistance of the Egyptians, with whose king, Amasis, he had formed an alliance, previous to his treaty with the Lacedæmonians. He had also made an offensive and defensive league with the Babylonians, over whom Labynetus was then king. With these, in addition to the Lacedæmonian aids, who were to be ready at a stipulated period, he resolved, after spending a certain time in winter quarters, to attack the Persians early in the spring. Full of these thoughts, Cræsus returned to Sardis, and immediately sent messengers to his different allies, requiring them to meet at Sardis, within the space of five months. The troops which he had led against the Persians, being chiefly mercenaries, he disembodied and dismissed, never supposing that Cyrus, who had certainly no claims to victory, would think of following him to Sardis.

LXXVIII. Whilst the mind of Cræsus was thus occupied, the lands near his capital were infested with a multitude of serpents; and it was observed, that to feed on these, the horses neglected and forsook their pastures. Cræsus conceiving this to be of mysterious import, which it certainly was, sent to make inquiry of the Telmessian priests concerning it. The answer which his messengers received, explaining the prodigy, they had no opportunity of communicating to Cræsus, for before they could possibly return to Sardis, he was defeated and a captive. The Telmessians had thus interpreted the incident:—that a foreign

army was about to attack Cræsus, on whose arrival the natives would be certainly subdued ; for as the serpent was produced from the earth, the horse might be considered both as a foreigner and an enemy. When the ministers of the oracle reported this answer to Cræsus, he was already in captivity, of which, and of the events which accompanied it, they were at that time ignorant.

LXXIX. Cyrus was well informed that it was the intention of Cræsus, after the battle of Pteria, to dismiss his forces ; he conceived it therefore advisable, to advance with all imaginable expedition to Sardis, before the Lydian forces could again be collected. The measure was no sooner concerted than executed ; and conducting his army instantly into Lydia, he was himself the messenger of his arrival. Cræsus, although distressed by an event so contrary to his foresight and expectation, lost no time in preparing the Lydians for battle. At that period no nation of Asia was more hardy or more valiant than the Lydians. They fought principally on horseback, armed with long spears, and were very expert in the management of the horse.

LXXX. The field of battle was a spacious and open plain in the vicinity of Sardis, intersected by many streams, and by the Hyllus in particular, all of which united with one larger than the rest, called the Hermus. This, rising in the mountain, which is sacred to Cybele, finally empties itself into the sea, near the city Phocæa. Here Cyrus found the Lydians prepared for the encounter ; and as he greatly feared the impression of their cavalry, by the advice of Harpagus the Mede, he took the following means to obviate the danger. He collected all the camels which followed his camp, carrying the provisions and other baggage ; taking their burdens from these, he placed on them men accoutred as horsemen. Thus prepared, he ordered them to advance against the Lydian horse ; his infantry were to follow in the rear of the camels, and his own cavalry closed the order of the attack. Having thus arranged his forces, he commanded that no quarter should be granted to the Lydians, but that whoever resisted should be put to death, Cræsus him-

self excepted, who, whatever opposition he might make, was at all events to be taken alive. He placed his camels in the van, knowing the hatred which a horse has to this animal, being neither able to support the smell nor the sight of it. He was satisfied that the principal dependence of Cræsus was on his cavalry, which he hoped by this stratagem to render ineffective. The engagement had no sooner commenced, than the horses seeing and smelling the camels, threw their own ranks into disorder, to the total discomfiture of Cræsus. Nevertheless the Lydians did not immediately surrender the day: they discovered the stratagem, and quitting their horses, engaged the Persians on foot; a great number of men fell on both sides; but the Lydians were finally compelled to fly, and, retreating within their walls, were there closely besieged.

LXXXI. Cræsus, believing the siege would be considerably protracted, sent other emissaries to his different confederates. The tendency of his former mission was to require their presence at Sardis within five months. He now entreated the immediate assistance of his other allies, in common with the Lacedæmonians.

LXXXII. At this crisis the Spartans themselves were engaged in dispute with the Argives, concerning the possession of a place called Thyrea; of which, although it really constituted a part of the Argive territories, the Lacedæmonians had taken violent possession. All that tract of country which extends from Argos, westward, to Malea, as well the continent as Cythera, and the other islands, belonged to the Argives. They prepared to defend the part of the territories which had been attacked; but the parties coming to a conference, it was agreed that three hundred men on each side should decide the dispute, and that Thyrea should be the reward of victory. Both the armies, by agreement, were to retire to their respective homes, lest remaining on the field of battle, either should be induced to render assistance to their party. After their departure, the men who had been selected for the purpose, came to an engagement, and fought with a little inequality, that out of six hundred but three re

mained, when night had terminated the contest. Of the Argives two survived, whose names were Alcénor and Chromius; they hastened to Argos, and claimed the victory. The Lacedæmonian was called Othryades, who, plundering the bodies of the slaughtered Argives, removed their arms to the camp of his countrymen, and then resumed his post in the field. On the second day after the event, the parties met, and both claimed the victory; the Argives, because the greater number of their men survived; the Lacedæmonians, because the Argives who remained had fled, but their single man had continued in the field, and plundered the bodies of his adversaries. Their altercations terminated in a battle, in which, after considerable loss on both sides, the Lacedæmonians were victorious. From this time and incident, the Argives, who formerly suffered their hair to grow to its full length, cut it short, binding themselves by a solemn imprecation, that till Thyrea should be recovered, no man should permit his hair to increase, nor Argive woman adorn herself with gold. The Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, issued an edict, that as they formerly wore their hair short, it should henceforth be permitted to grow. It is reported of Othryades, the survivor of his three hundred countrymen, that ashamed to return to Sparta, when all his comrades had so honourably died, he put himself to death at Thyrea.

LXXXIII. Whilst the Spartans were in this situation, the Sardinian messenger arrived, relating the extreme danger of Cræsus, and requesting their immediate assistance. This they without hesitation resolved to give. Whilst they were making, for this purpose, preparations of men and ships, a second messenger brought intelligence, that Sardis was taken, and Cræsus in captivity. Strongly impressed by this wonderful calamity, the Lacedæmonians made no farther efforts.

LXXXIV. Sardis was thus taken:—On the fourteenth day of the siege, Cyrus sent some horsemen round his camp, promising a reward to him who should first scale the wall. The attempt was made, but without success. After which a certain Mardian, whose name was Hyæades, made a daring effort on a

part of the citadel where no sentinel was stationed; it being so strong and so difficult of approach, as seemingly to defy all attack. Around this place alone, Meles had neglected to carry his son Leon, whom he had by a concubine, the Telmessian priests having declared, that Sardis should never be taken, if Leon were carried round the walls. Leon, it seems, was carried by his father round every part of the citadel which was exposed to attack. He omitted taking him round that, which is opposite to mount Tmolus, from the persuasion that its natural strength rendered all modes of defence unnecessary. Here, however, the Mardian had the preceding day observed a Lydian descend to recover his helmet, which had fallen down the precipice. He revolved the incident in his mind. He attempted to scale it; he was seconded by other Persians, and their example followed by greater numbers. In this manner was Sardis stormed, and afterwards given up to plunder.

LXXXV. We have now to speak of the fate of Cræsus. He had a son, as I have before related, who, though accomplished in other respects, was unfortunately dumb. Cræsus in his former days of good fortune, had made every attempt to obtain a cure for this infirmity. Amongst other things, he sent to inquire of the Delphic oracle. The Pythian returned this answer:

Wide ruling Lydian, in thy wishes wild,  
Ask not to hear the accents of thy child;  
Far better were his silence for thy peace,  
And sad will be the day when that shall cease.

During the storm of the city, a Persian meeting Cræsus, was, through ignorance of his person, about to kill him. The king, overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to avoid the blow or escape death; but his dumb son, when he saw the violent designs of the Persian, overcome with astonishment and terror, exclaimed aloud, "Oh, man, do not kill Cræsus!" This was the first time he had ever articulated, but he retained the faculty of speech from this event, as long as he lived.

LXXXVI. The Persians thus obtained possession of Sardis, and made Cræsus captive, when he had

reigned fourteen years, and after a siege of fourteen days; a mighty empire, agreeably to the prediction which had deluded him, being then destroyed. The Persians brought him to the presence of Cyrus, who ordered him to be placed in chains upon the summit of a huge wooden pile, with fourteen Lydian youths around him. He did this, either desirous of offering to some deity the first fruits of his victory, in compliance with a vow which he had made; or, perhaps, anxious to know whether any deity would liberate Cræsus, of whose piety he had heard much, from the danger of being consumed by fire. When Cræsus stood erect upon the pile, although in this extremity of misery, he did not forget the saying of Solon, which now appeared of divine inspiration, that no living mortal could be accounted happy. When the remembrance of this saying occurred to Cræsus, it is said, that rousing himself from the profoundest silence of affliction, he thrice pronounced aloud the name of Solon. Cyrus hearing this, desired by his interpreters to know who it was that he invoked. They approached, and asked him, but he continued silent. At length, being compelled to explain himself, he said, "I named a man with whom I had rather that all kings should converse, than be master of the greatest riches." Not being sufficiently understood, he was solicited to be more explicit; to their repeated and importunate inquiries, he replied to this effect: that Solon, an Athenian, had formerly visited him, a man who, when he had seen all his immense riches, treated them with disdain; whose sayings were at that moment verified in his fate; sayings which he had applied not to him in particular, but to all mankind, and especially to those who were in their own estimation happy. While Cræsus was thus speaking the pile was lighted, and the flame began to ascend. Cyrus being informed of what had passed, felt compunction for what he had done. His heart reproached him, that being himself a mortal, he had condemned to a cruel death by fire, a man formerly not inferior to himself. He feared the anger of the gods, and reflecting that all human affairs are precarious and uncertain, he commanded the

fire to be instantly extinguished, and Cræsus to be saved with his companions. They could not, however, with all their efforts, extinguish the flames.

LXXXVII. In this extremity, the Lydians affirm, that Cræsus, informed of the change of the king's sentiments in his favour, by seeing the officious but seemingly useless efforts of the multitude to extinguish the flames, implored the assistance of Apollo, entreating, that if he had ever made him any acceptable offering, he would now interpose, and deliver him from the impending danger. When Cræsus, with tears, had thus invoked the god, the sky, which before was serene and tranquil, suddenly became dark and gloomy, a violent storm of rain succeeded, and the fire of the pile was extinguished. This event satisfied Cyrus, that Cræsus was both a good man in himself, and a favourite of Heaven: causing him to be taken down from the pile, "Cræsus," said he, addressing him, "what could induce you to invade my territories, and become my enemy rather than my friend?" "O king," replied Cræsus, "it was the prevalence of your good and of my evil fortune, which prompted my attempt. I attacked your dominions, impelled and deluded by the deity of the Greeks. No one can be so infatuated as not to prefer tranquillity to war. In peace, children inter their parents; war violates the order of nature, and causes parents to inter their children. It must have pleased the gods that these things should so happen."

LXXXVIII. Cyrus immediately ordered him to be unbound, placed him near his person, and treated him with great respect; indeed he excited the admiration of all who were present. After an interval of silent meditation, Cræsus observed the Persians engaged in the plunder of the city. "Does it become me, Cyrus," said he, "to continue silent on this occasion, or to speak the sentiments of my heart?" Cyrus entreated him to speak without apprehension or reserve. "About what," he returned, "is that multitude so eagerly employed?" "They are plundering your city," replied Cyrus, "and possessing themselves of your wealth." "No," answered Cræsus, "they do not plunder my

city, nor possess themselves of my wealth, I have no concern with either; it is your property which they are thus destroying."

LXXXIX. These words disturbed Cyrus; desiring therefore those who were present to withdraw, he asked Cræsus what measures he would recommend in the present emergence. "The gods," answered Cræsus, "have made me your captive, and you are therefore justly entitled to the benefit of my reflections. Nature has made the Persians haughty but poor. If you permit them to indulge without restraint this spirit of devastation, by which they may become rich, it is probable that your acquiescence may thus foster a spirit of rebellion against yourself. I would recommend the following mode to be adopted, if agreeable to your wisdom: station some of your guards at each of the gates, let it be their business to stop the plunderers with their booty, and bid them assign, as a reason, that one tenth part must be consecrated to Jupiter. Thus you will not incur their enmity by any seeming violence of conduct; they will even accede without reluctance to your views, under the impression of your being actuated by pious motives.

XC. Cyrus was delighted with the advice, and immediately adopted it; he stationed guards in the manner recommended by Cræsus, whom he afterwards thus addressed: "Cræsus, your conduct and your words mark a princely character; I desire you, therefore, to request of me whatever you please, and your wish shall be instantly gratified." "Sir," replied Cræsus, "you will materially oblige me, by permitting me to send these fetters to the god of Greece, whom, above all other gods, I have most honoured; and to inquire of him, whether it be his custom to delude those who have claims upon his kindness." When Cyrus expressed a wish to know the occasion of this reproach, Cræsus ingenuously explained each particular of his conduct, the oracles he had received, and the gifts he had presented; declaring, that these inspired communications had alone induced him to make war upon the Persians. He finished his narra-

tive with again soliciting permission to send and reproach the divinity which had deceived him. Cyrus smiled: "I will not only grant this," said he, "but whatever else you shall require." Cræsus accordingly despatched some Lydians to Delphi, who were commissioned to place his fetters on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the deity were not ashamed at having, by his oracles, induced Cræsus to make war on Persia, with the expectation of overturning the empire of Cyrus, of which war these chains were the first fruits: and they were farther to inquire, if the gods of Greece were usually ungrateful.

XCI. The Lydians proceeded on their journey, and executed their commission; they are said to have received the following reply from the Pythian priestess: "That to avoid the determination of destiny was impossible even for a divinity: that Cræsus, in his person, expiated the crimes of his ancestor, in the fifth descent; who being a guardsman of the Heraclids, was seduced by the artifice of a woman to assassinate his master, and without the remotest pretensions succeeded to his dignities: that Apollo was desirous to have this destruction of Sardis fall on the descendants of Cræsus, but was unable to counteract the decrees of fate; that he had really obviated them as far as was possible; and, to show his partiality to Cræsus, had caused the ruin of Sardis to be deferred for the space of three years: that of this, Cræsus might be assured, that if the will of the fates had been punctually fulfilled, he would have been three years sooner a captive; neither ought he to forget, that when in danger of being consumed by fire, Apollo had afforded him succour: that with respect to the declaration of the oracle, Cræsus was not justified in his complaints; that Apollo had declared, that if he made war against the Persians, a mighty empire would be overthrown; the real purport of which communication, if he had been anxious to understand, it became him to have inquired whether the god alluded to his empire, or to the empire of Cyrus; but that not understanding the reply which had been made, nor condescending to make a second inquiry, he had been himself the cause of his own

misfortune : that he had not at all comprehended the last answer of the oracle, which related to the mule ; for that this mule was Cyrus, who was born of two parents of two different nations, of whom the mother was as noble as the father was mean ; his mother was a Mede, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes ; his father was a Persian, and tributary to the Modes, who, although a man of the very meanest rank, had married a princess, who was his mistress."—This answer of the Pythian, the Lydians, on their return, communicated to Cræsus. Cræsus having heard it, exculpated the deity, and acknowledged himself to be reprehensible. Such, however, was the termination of the empire of Cræsus, and this the recital of the first conquest of Ionia.

XCII. Besides the sacred offerings of Cræsus which I have before enumerated, many others are extant in Greece. In the Bæotian Thebes, there is a golden tripod, consecrated by him to the Ismenian Apollo : there are also at Ephesus some golden heifers, and a number of columns. He gave also to the Pronean Minerva a large golden shield, which is still to be seen at Delphi. All the above remained within my remembrance ; many others have been lost. He presented also, as it appears, to the Milesian Branchidæ, gifts equal in weight and value to what he sent to Delphi. The presents which he made to Delphi, as well as those which he sent to Amphiaraus, were given for sacred purposes, being the first fruits of his own private possessions. His other donations were formerly the property of an adversary, who had shown himself hostile to Cræsus before he succeeded to the throne, attaching himself to Pantaleon, and favouring his views on the imperial dignity. Pantaleon was also the son of Alyattes, and brother of Cræsus, but not by the same mother : Alyattes had Cræsus by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian wife. But when, agreeably to the will of his father, Cræsus took possession of the throne, he destroyed this man who had opposed him with a fuller's instrument : his wealth he distributed in the manner we have before related, in compliance

with a vow which he had formerly made. Such is the history of the offerings of Cræsus.

XCIII. If we except the gold dust which descends from mount Tmolus, Lydia can exhibit no curiosity which may vie with those of other countries. It boasts, however, of one monument of art, second to none but those of the Ægyptians and Babylonians. It is the sepulchre of Alyattes, father of Cræsus. The foundation is composed of immense stones; the rest of the structure is a huge mound of earth. The edifice was raised by merchants, labourers, and young women, who prostituted themselves for hire. On the summit of this monument there remained, within my remembrance, five termini, upon which were inscriptions to ascertain the performance of each, and to intimate that the women accomplished the greater part of the work. All the young women of Lydia prostitute themselves, by which they procure their marriage-portion; this, with their persons, they afterwards dispose of as they think proper. The circumference of the tomb is six furlongs and two plethra, the breadth thirteen plethra; it is terminated by a large piece of water, which the Lydians affirm to be inexhaustible, and is called the Gygean lake.

XCIV. The manners and customs of the Lydians do not essentially vary from those of Greece, except in this prostitution of the young women. They are the first people on record who coined gold and silver into money, and traded in retail. They claim also the invention of certain games, which have since been practised among the Grecians, and which, as they say, were first discovered at the time of their sending a colony into Tyrrhenia. The particulars are thus related:—In the reign of Atys, the son of Menes, all Lydia was reduced to the severest distress by a scarcity of corn. Against this they contended for a considerable time, by patient and unremitted industry. This not proving effectual, they sought other resources, each one exerting his own genius. Upon this occasion they invented cubes, bowls, and dice, with many other games: of chess, however, the Lydians do

not claim the discovery. These they applied as a resource against the effects of the famine. One day they gave themselves so totally to their diversions, as to abstain entirely from food: on the next they refrained from their games, and took their necessary repasts. They lived thus for the space of eighteen years. But when their calamity remitted nothing of its violence, but rather increased, the king divided the whole nation by lot into two parts, one of which was to continue at home, the other to migrate elsewhere. They who stayed behind retained their ancient king; the emigrants placed themselves under the conduct of his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. These leaving their country, as had been determined, went to Smyrna, where building themselves vessels for the purpose of transplanting their property and their goods, they removed in search of another residence. After visiting different nations, they arrived at length in Umbria. Here they built cities, and have continued to the present period, changing their ancient appellation of Lydians, for that of Tyrrhenians, after the son of their former sovereign.

XCV. I have before related how these Lydians were reduced under the dominion of Persia. It now becomes necessary to explain who this Cyrus, the conqueror of Cræsus, was, and by what means the Persians obtained the empire of Asia. I shall follow the authority of those Persians, who seem more influenced by a regard to truth than partiality to Cyrus; I am not ignorant, however, that there are three other narratives of this monarch.—The Assyrians had been in possession of the Upper Asia for a period of five hundred and twenty years. The Medes first of all revolted from their authority, and contended with such obstinate bravery against their masters, that they were ultimately successful, and exchanged servitude for freedom. Other nations soon followed their example, who, after living for a time under the protection of their own laws, were again deprived of their freedom, upon the following occasion:

XCVI. There was a man among the Medes, of the name of Deioces, son of Phraortes, of great reputation

for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised and exercised:—The Medes were divided into different districts, and Deioces was distinguished in his own, by his vigilant and impartial distribution of justice. This he practised in opposition to the general depravity and weakness of the government of his country, and conscious that the profligate and the just must ever be at war with each other. The Medes who lived nearest him, to signify their approbation of his integrity, made him their judge. In this situation, having one more elevated in view, he conducted himself with the most rigid equity. His behaviour obtained the highest applauses of his countrymen; and his fame extending to the neighbouring districts, the people contrasted his just and equitable decisions, with the irregularity of their own corrupt rulers, and unanimously resorted to his tribunal, not suffering any one else to determine their litigations.

XCVII. The increasing fame of his integrity and wisdom constantly augmented the number of those who came to consult him. But when Deioces saw the pre-eminence which he was so universally allowed, he appeared no more on his accustomed tribunal, and declared that he should sit as a judge no longer; intimating, that it was inconsistent for him to regulate the affairs of others, to the entire neglect and injury of his own. After this, as violence and rapine prevailed more than ever in the different districts of the Medes, they called a public assembly to deliberate on national affairs. As far as I have been able to collect, they who were attached to Deioces delivered sentiments to this effect:—"Our present situation is really intolerable, let us therefore elect a king, that we may have the advantage of a regular government, and continue our usual occupations, without any fear or danger of molestation." In conformity to these sentiments, the Medes determined to have a king.

XCVIII. After some consultation about what person they should choose, Deioces was proposed and elected with universal praise. Upon his elevation he required a palace to be erected for him suitable to his dignity, and to have guards appointed for the security

of his person. The Medes, in compliance with his request, built him a strong and magnificent edifice in a situation which he himself chose, and suffered him to appoint his guards from among the whole nation. Deioces, as soon as he possessed the supreme authority, obliged the Medes to build a city, which was to occupy their attention beyond all other places. They obeyed him in this also, and constructed what we now call Ecbatana. Its walls were strong and ample, built in circles one within another, rising each above each by the height of their respective battlements. This mode of building was favoured by the situation of the place, which was a gently rising ground. They did yet more: the city being thus formed of seven circles, the king's palace and the royal treasury stood within the last. The largest of these walls is nearly equal in extent to the circumference of Athens; this is of a white colour, the next to it is black, the next purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange: thus the battlements of each were distinguished by a different colour. The two innermost walls are differently ornamented, one having its battlements plated with silver, the other with gold.

XCIX. Such were the fortifications and the palace which were erected under the direction of Deioces, who commanded the body of the people to fix their habitations beyond the walls which protected his residence. After which, he was the first who instituted that kind of pomp, which forbids access to the royal person, and only admits communication with him by intermediate agents, the king himself being never publicly seen. His edict also signified, that to smile or to spit in the king's presence, or in the presence of each other, was an act of indecency. His motive for this conduct was the security of his power; thinking, that if he were seen familiarly by those who were educated with him, born with equal pretensions, and not his inferiors in virtue, it might excite their envy, and provoke them to sedition. On the contrary, by his withdrawing himself from observation, he thought their respect for him would be increased.

C. When Deioces had taken these measures to in-

crease the splendour of his situation and the security of his power, he became extremely rigorous in his administration of justice. They who had causes to determine, sent them to him in writing, by his official servants, which, with the decisions upon each, he regularly returned. This was the form which he observed in judiciary matters. His proceeding with regard to penal offences was thus:—Whenever he heard of any injury being perpetrated, and for this purpose he appointed spies and informers in different parts of his dominions, the offender was first brought to his presence, and then punished according to his offence.

CI. Deioces thus collected the Medes into one nation, over which he ruled: they consisted of the Bussæ, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, and the Magi.

CII. Deioces reigned fifty-three years, and at his decease, his son Phraortes succeeded to the throne. Not satisfied with the government of the Medes alone, he singled out the Persians as the objects of his ambition, and reduced them first of all under the dominion of the Medes. Supreme of these two great and powerful nations, he overran Asia, alternately subduing the people of whom it was composed. He came at length to the Assyrians, and proceeded to attack that part of them which inhabited Nineveh. These were formerly the most powerful nation in Asia: their allies at this period had separated from them; but they were still, with regard to their internal strength, respectable. In the twenty-second year of his reign, Phraortes, in an excursion against this people, perished, with the greater part of his army.

CIII. He was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, grandson of Deioces. He is reported to have been superior to his ancestors in valour, and was the first who regularly trained the Asiatics to military service, dividing them, who had before been promiscuously embodied, into companies of spearmen, cavalry, and archers. He it was who was carrying on war with the Lydians, when the engagement, which happened in the day, was suddenly interrupted by nocturnal darkness. Having formed an amicable connexion with

the different nations of Asia beyond the Halys, he proceeded with all his forces to the attack of Nineveh, being equally desirous of avenging his father, and becoming master of the city. He vanquished the Assyrians in battle; but when he was engaged in the siege of Nineveh, he was surprised by an army of Scythians, commanded by Madyas, son of Protothyas. Having expelled the Cimmerians from Europe, the Scythians had found their way into Asia, and, continuing to pursue the fugitives, had arrived at the territories of the Medes.

CIV. From the lake Mæotis an expeditious traveler may pass to the river Phasis among the Colchians, in the space of thirty days: it requires less time to pass from Colchis into Media, which are only separated by the nation of the Saspirians. The Scythians, however, did not come by this way, but, leaving mount Caucasus on their right, passed through the high country by a much longer route. Here they met with the Medes, who, in a fixed battle, lost not only the victory, but the empire of Asia.

CV. The Scythians having obtained the entire possession of Asia, advanced towards Ægypt. Psammitichus, king of Ægypt, met them in Palestine of Syria, and, by presents and importunity united, prevailed on them to return. The Scythians, on their march homewards, came to Ascalon, a Syrian city: the greater part of their body passed through without molesting it; but some of them remaining behind, plundered the temple of the celestial Venus. Of all the sacred buildings erected to this goddess, this, according to my authorities, was far the most ancient. The Cyprians themselves acknowledge, that their temple was built after the model of this, and that of Cythera was constructed by certain Phœnicians, who came from this part of Syria. Upon the Scythians who plundered this temple, and indeed upon all their posterity, the deity entailed a fatal punishment: they were afflicted with the female disease. The Scythians themselves confess, that their countrymen suffer this malady in consequence of the above crime: their con-

dition also may be seen by those who visit Scythia, where they are called Enaresæ.

CVI. After possessing the dominion of Asia for a space of twenty-eight years, the Scythians lost all they had obtained, by their licentiousness and neglect. The extravagance of their public extortions could only be equalled by the rapacity with which they plundered individuals. At a feast, to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greater part of them were cut off when in a state of intoxication. The Medes thus recovered their possessions, and all their ancient importance; after which they took Nineveh; the particulars of which incident I shall hereafter relate. They moreover subdued the Assyrians, those only excepted which inhabited the Babylonian district. Cyaxares reigned forty years, and then died; but in this period is to be included the time in which the Scythians possessed the empire.

CVII. His son Astyages succeeded to the throne: he had a daughter whom he called Mandane; she, in a dream, appeared to make so great a quantity of water, that not only his principal city, but all Asia, was overflowed. The purport of this vision, when explained in each particular by the magi, the usual interpreters, terrified him exceedingly. Under this impression, he refused to marry his daughter, when she arrived at a suitable age, to any Mede whose rank justified pretensions to her. He chose rather to give her to Cambyzes, a Persian, of a respectable family, but of a pacific disposition, though inferior in his estimation to the lowest of the Medes.

CVIII. The first year after the marriage of his daughter, Astyages saw another vision. A vine appeared to spring from the womb of Mandane, which overspread all Asia. Upon this occasion also he consulted his interpreters: the result was, that he sent for his daughter from Persia, when the time of her delivery approached. On her arrival, he kept a strict watch over her, intending to destroy her child. The magi had declared the vision to intimate, that the child of his daughter should supplant him on his

threne. Astyages, to guard against this, as soon as Cyrus was born, sent for Harpagus, a person whose intimacy he used, upon whose confidence he depended, and who indeed had the management of all his affairs. He addressed him as follows: "Harpagus, I am about to use you in a business, in which if you either abuse my confidence, or employ others to do what I am anxious you should do yourself, you will infallibly lament the consequence. You must take the boy of whom Mandane has been delivered, remove him to your own house, and put him to death: you will afterwards bury him as you shall think proper." "Sir," he replied, "you have hitherto never had occasion to censure my conduct; neither shall my future behaviour give you cause of offence: if the accomplishment of this matter be essential to your peace, it becomes me to be faithful and obedient."

CIX. On this reply of Harpagus, the infant was delivered to his arms in rich apparel, and consigned to destruction. Returning home he sought with tears the presence of his wife, to whom he related his conference with Astyages. When she inquired what it was his intention to do; "By no means," he answered, "the deed which Astyages enjoins. If he become still more infatuated, more mad than he at present appears, I will not comply with his desires, nor be accessary to this murder. The child is my relation; Astyages is old, and has no male offspring: if, at his decease, the sovereign authority shall descend to this daughter, whose child he orders me to destroy, what extreme danger shall I not incur? It is expedient nevertheless, for my security, that the child should die, not however by the hands of any of my family, but by some other of his servants."

CX. He instantly sent for a herdsman belonging to Astyages, who, as he knew, pursued his occupation in a place adapted to the purpose, amongst mountains frequented by savage beasts. His name was Mitridates; his wife and fellow-servant was, in the Greek tongue, called Cyno, by the Medes Spaco; and Spaca is the name by which the Medes called a bitch. The place which he frequented with his herds, was the foot

of those mountains which lie to the north of Ecbatane, near the Euxine. This part of Media, towards the Saspires, is high and mountainous, and abounding with forests; the rest of the country is a spacious plain. As soon as he arrived in his presence, Harpagus thus addressed him: "Astyages commands you to take this infant, and expose him in the most unfrequented part of the mountains, that his death may be speedy and unavoidable. I am farther ordered to assure you, that if you evade this injunction, and are by any means accessory to his preservation, you must expect torture and death. I am myself commanded to see the child exposed."

CXI. When the herdsman had received his orders, he took the child, and returned to his cottage. His wife, who had been in labour all the preceding part of the day, was providentially delivered in his absence. Both had been in a state of solicitude: the situation of his wife gave alarm to the husband; and the woman, on her part, feared for him, from the unusual circumstance of his being sent for to Harpagus. His return was sudden and unexpected, and his wife discovered much anxiety to know why Harpagus had sent for him in such haste. "As soon," said he, "as I got into the city, I both saw and heard what I could wish had never befallen the families of our masters: I found the house of Harpagus in extreme affliction; entering which with the greatest terror, I saw an infant panting and screaming on the ground, dressed in rich and splendid clothing. Harpagus, the moment he saw me, commanded me to take the child, and, without any hesitation, expose it on such part of our mountains as is most frequented by wild beasts; telling me, moreover, that Astyages himself had assigned this office to me, and threatening the severest punishment in case of disobedience. I took the child, conceiving it to belong to one of the domestics, never supposing who it really was. The richness, however, of its dress excited my astonishment, which was increased by the sorrow that prevailed in the family of Harpagus. But, on my return, the servant who, conducting me out of the city, gave the infant to my hand,

explained each particular circumstance. He informed me, that it is the offspring of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, and of Cambyzes, son of Cyrus. This is the infant whose death Astyages commands."

CXII. The herdsman finished, and produced the child to his wife. Struck with his appearance of beauty and of strength, she embraced the knees of her husband, and conjured him not to expose the child. He observed, that it was impossible to comply with her request, as Harpagus would send to see that his orders were executed, and had menaced him with a most cruel death if he failed in his obedience. The woman not succeeding by this, took another method: "Since," she replied, "you are determined in your purpose, and there will be witnesses to see that the child is in reality exposed, attend to what I propose: I have been delivered of a dead child; let this be exposed, and let us preserve and bring up the grandchild of Astyages as our own. You will thus appear faithful to your superiors, without any injury to ourselves; the child which is dead will be honoured with a sumptuous funeral, and that which survives will be preserved."

CXIII. The man approved of the pertinent proposal of his wife, with which he immediately complied. The infant, whom he was to have destroyed, he gave to the care of his wife: his own child, which was dead, he placed in the cradle in which the other had been brought, dressed it in the other's costly clothing, and exposed it on a desert mountain. After three days, he left one of his domestics to guard the body, and went again to the house of Harpagus in the city, signifying himself ready to show that the child was dead. Harpagus sent some upon whose fidelity he could depend, to examine into the matter: they confirmed the report of the herdsman, and the child was buried. The herdsman's child was thus interred; the other, who was afterwards called Cyrus, was brought up carefully by the wife of the herdsman, and called by some other name.

CXIV. When he arrived at the age of ten years, the following accident discovered who he was:—He was playing in the village, where the herds of his sup-

posed father were, with other boys of the same age with himself. Though reputed to be the son of the herdsman, his play-mates chose him for their king. He, in consequence, assigned them their different stations: some were to superintend buildings, others were to be guards; one was to be his principal minister, another his master of the ceremonies; and each had his particular office. Among these children happened to be the son of Artembaris, who was a Mede of considerable distinction. He, refusing to obey the commands of Cyrus, was, at his orders, seized by his playfellows, and severely beaten. The pride of the boy was vehemently offended; and the moment he was at liberty, he hastened to the city to inform his father how much he had suffered from the insolence of Cyrus. He did not indeed call him Cyrus, which was not then his name; but he described him as the son of the herdsman of Astyages. Artembaris went immediately in great rage to Astyages, taking his son with him. He complained of the indignity which had been offered, and showed what marks of violence his son had received. "Thus, sir," says he, "have we been insulted by the son of a herdsman, your slave."

CXV. Astyages, on receiving this complaint, which he observed to be justly founded, was anxious to punish the insult which Artembaris had received; he accordingly sent for the herdsman and his reputed child. On their appearance, Astyages, looking at Cyrus, "Do you," says he, "the son of this mean man, dare to inflict stripes on the son of one of my nobles?" "My lord," says he, in reply, "what I have done I am able to justify; the boys among whom I live, and this with the rest, did, in play, elect me their king, because, as I suppose, I seemed to them the most proper for this situation. Our other playfellows obeyed my commands; this boy refused, and was punished: if on this account you deem me worthy of chastisement, I am here to receive it."

CXVI. As soon as the boy had spoken, Astyages conjectured who he was; every thing concurred to confirm his suspicions; his resemblance of himself, his ingenuous countenance and manners, and the seeming

correspondence of his age. Struck by the force of these incidents, Astyages was a long time silent. He recovered himself with difficulty, and wishing to dismiss Artembaris, for the purpose of examining the herdsman without witnesses, "Artembaris," said he, "I will take care that neither you nor your son shall have just reason of complaint." When Artembaris retired, Cyrus was conducted by attendants into some inner room, and the herdsman being left alone with the king, was strictly interrogated whence and from whom he had the child. He replied, that he was his own child, and that his mother was yet alive; Astyages told him, that his indiscretion would only involve him in greater dangers. Saying this, he ordered his guards to seize him. Reduced to this extremity, he explained every particular of the business; and concluded with earnest entreaties for mercy and forgiveness.

CXVII. Astyages, convinced that his herdsman had spoken the truth, felt but little with respect to him; but he was violently incensed against Harpagus, whom he sent for to his presence. As soon as he appeared, "Harpagus," said he, "by what kind of death did you destroy the son of my daughter?" Harpagus saw the herdsman present, and was therefore conscious, that unless he spoke the truth he should be certainly detected. "Sir," he replied, "as soon as I received the infant, I revolved in my mind the best method of satisfying your wishes, and of preserving myself innocent of the crime of murder, both with respect to your daughter and yourself: I determined, therefore, to send for this herdsman, and delivering to him the child, I informed him that it was your command that he should put him to death; in this I used no falsehood, for such were your commands. I farther enjoined him to expose the infant on a desert mountain, and to be himself the witness of his death, threatening him with the severest punishment in case of disobedience. When he had fulfilled his commission, and the child was dead, I sent some of the most confidential of my eunuchs to witness the fact, and to bury the body. This, sir, is the real truth, and the child was thus destroyed."

**CXVIII.** Harpagus related the fact without prevarication ; but Astyages, dissembling the anger which he really felt, informed him of the confession of the herdsman ; and finished his narration in these words, " The child is alive, and all is well : I was much afflicted concerning the fate of the boy, and but ill could bear the reproaches of my daughter. But as the matter has turned out well, you must send your son to our young stranger, and attend me yourself at supper. I have determined, in gratitude for the child's preservation, to celebrate a festival in honour of those deities who interposed to save him."

**CXIX.** Harpagus, on hearing this, made his obeisance to the king, and returned cheerfully to his house, happy in the reflection that he was not only not punished for his disobedience, but honoured by an invitation to the royal festival. As soon as he arrived at his house, he hastily called for his only son, a boy of about thirteen, ordering him to hasten to the palace of Astyages, and to comply with whatever was commanded him. He then related to his wife, with much exultation, all that had happened. As soon as the boy arrived, Astyages commanded him to be cut in pieces, and some part of his flesh to be roasted, another part boiled, and the whole made ready to be served at table. At the hour of supper, among other guests, Harpagus also attended. Before the rest, as well as before Astyages himself, dishes of mutton were placed, but to Harpagus all the body of his son was served, except the head and the extremities, which were kept apart in a covered basket. After he seemed well satisfied with what he had eaten, Astyages asked him how he liked his fare : Harpagus expressing himself greatly delighted, the attendants brought him the basket which contained the head and extremities of his child, and desired him to help himself to what he thought proper. Harpagus complied, uncovered the vessel, and beheld the remains of his son. He continued, however, master of himself, and discovered no unusual emotion. When Astyages inquired if he knew of what flesh and of what wild beast he had eaten, he acknowledged that he did, and that the king's will was

always pleasing to him. Saying this, he took the remnants of the body, and returned to his house, meaning, as I should suppose, to bury them together.

CXX. Astyages thus revenged himself upon Harpagus; but deliberating about the destiny of Cyrus, he sent for the magi who had before interpreted his dreams. On their appearance, he requested to know their sentiments of the vision he had formerly explained to them. They persevered in their former declaration, that if the boy survived he would infallibly be king. "The boy is alive and well," returned Astyages: "the children of the village where he lived elected him their king, and he has actually performed all the essential duties of the regal office. He appointed his guards, his messengers, and different attendants, and in all respects exercised kingly authority: concerning this, what do you determine?" "If," answered the magi, "the boy really survives, and has reigned as a monarch, in the accidental manner you describe, rely upon this, and dissipate your fears; depend upon it he will reign no more: things of trifling moment frequently accomplish what we seriously foretell, and dreams in particular will often prove of little or no importance." "I confess," replied Astyages, "that I am of the same opinion; the boy having been nominally a king, has fulfilled the purport of my dream, and I need alarm myself no more about him. Do not you, however, remit your assiduity, but consult both for my security and your own." "Sir," answered the magi, "it is of particular importance to us, that your authority should continue, it might otherwise descend to this boy, who is a Persian; in that case we, who are Medes, shall be reduced to servitude; the Persians would despise us as foreigners; but whilst you, who are our countryman, reign over us, we enjoy some degree of authority ourselves, independent of the honours we receive from you. For these reasons we are particularly bound to consult for your safety, and the permanence of your power. If any thing excited our apprehensions of the future, we would certainly disclose it: but as your dream has had this trifling termination, we feel great confidence ourselves, and re-

commend you to send the child from your presence to his parents in Persia."

CXXI. On hearing this, Astyages was rejoiced; and sending for Cyrus, "My child," said he, "I was formerly induced, by the imperfect representation of a dream, to treat you cruelly, but your better genius preserved you. Go, therefore, in peace to Persia, whither I shall send proper persons to conduct you; there you will see your parents, who are of a very different rank from the herdsman Mitridates and his wife."

CXXII. Astyages having thus spoken, sent Cyrus away; on his being restored to the house of his parents, they, who had long since thought him dead, received him with tenderness and transport. They inquired by what means he had been preserved; he told them in reply, that he was entirely ignorant of his birth, and had been involved in much perplexity; but that every thing had been explained to him on his journey to them. He had really believed himself the son of the herdsman of Astyages, before his conductors explained to him the particulars of his fortune. He related with what tenderness he had been brought up by the wife of the herdsman, whose name, Cyno, he often repeated with the warmest praise. The circumstance of her name his parents laid hold of to persuade the Persians that Providence had, in a particular manner, interposed to save Cyrus, who, when exposed, had been preserved and nourished by a bitch—which opinion afterwards prevailed.

CXXIII. As Cyrus grew up, he excelled all the young men in strength and gracefulness of person. Harpagus, who was anxious to be revenged on Astyages, was constantly endeavouring to gain an interest with him, by making him presents. In his own private situation he could have but little hope of obtaining the vengeance he desired; but seeing in Cyrus when a man, one whose fortunes bore some resemblance to his own, he much attached himself to him. He had, some time before, taken the following measure:—Astyages having treated the Medes with great asperity, Harpagus took care to communicate with the men of

the greatest consequence among them, endeavouring, by his insinuations, to promote the elevation of Cyrus, and the deposition of his master. Having thus prepared the way, he contrived the following method of acquainting Cyrus in Persia with his own private sentiments, and the state of affairs. The communication betwixt the two countries being strictly guarded, he took a hare, opened its paunch, in which he inserted a letter, containing the information he wished to give, and then dexterously sewed it up again. The hare, with some hunting nets, he intrusted to one of his servants of the chase, upon whom he could depend. The man was sent into Persia, and ordered to deliver the hare to Cyrus himself, who was entreated to open it with his own hands, and without witnesses.

CXXIV. The man executed his commission; Cyrus received the hare, which having opened as directed, he found a letter to the following purport: "Son of Cambyzes, Heaven evidently favours you, or you never could have risen thus superior to fortune. Astyages meditated your death, and is a just object of your vengeance; he certainly determined that you should perish; the gods and my humanity preserved you. With the incidents of your life I believe you are acquainted, as well as with the injuries which I have received from Astyages, for delivering you to the herdsman, instead of putting you to death. Listen but to me, and the authority and dominions of Astyages shall be yours: first prevail upon the Persians to revolt, and then undertake an expedition against the Medes. If I shall be appointed by Astyages the leader of the forces which oppose you, our object will be instantly accomplished, which I may also venture to affirm of each of our first nobility; they are already favourable to your cause, and wait but the opportunity of revolting from Astyages. All things being thus prepared, execute what I advise you without delay."

CXXV. Cyrus, on receiving this intelligence, revolved in his mind what would be the most effectual means of inducing the Persians to revolt. After much deliberation, he determined on the following stratagem: He dictated the terms of a public letter, and

called an assembly of his countrymen. Here it was produced and read, and it appeared to contain his appointment by Astyages to be general of the Persians: "And now, O Persians," he exclaimed, "I must expect each of you to attend me with a hatchet." There are many tribes of the Persians: certain of these Cyrus assembled, and persuaded to revolt from the Medes. These are they upon which all the other Persians depend, namely, the Pasargadæ, the Maraphii, and the Maspîi: of these, the Pasargadæ are the most considerable; the Achæmenidæ are those from whom the Persian monarchs are descended. The Panthialæi, Derusiæi, and Germanians, follow laborious employments; the Dai, Mardi, Dropici, and Sagartians, are feeders of cattle.

CXXVI. They all assembled in the manner they were commanded, and Cyrus directed them to clear, in the space of a day, a certain woody enclosure, which was eighteen or twenty furlongs in extent. When they had executed their task, they were desired to attend the following day to feast and make merry. For this purpose Cyrus collected and slew all the goats, sheep, and oxen, which were the property of his father; and further to promote the entertainment of the Persians, he added rich wives and abundance of delicacies. The next day, when they were met, he desired them to recline on the grass and enjoy themselves. When they were satisfied, he inquired of them which day's fare delighted them the most: They replied, the contrast betwixt the two was strong indeed, as on the first day they had nothing but what was bad, on the second every thing that was good. On receiving this answer, Cyrus no longer hesitated to explain the purpose which he had in view: "Men of Persia," he exclaimed, "your affairs are thus circumstanced; if you obey me, you will enjoy these and greater advantages, without any servile toils: if you refuse what I propose, you must prepare to encounter worse hardships than those of yesterday. By following my advice you will obtain liberty: Providence appears to have reserved me to be the instrument of your prosperity; you are, doubtless, equal to the Medes in every

thing, and most assuredly are as brave: this being the case, immediately revolt from Astyages."

CXXVII. The Persians, who had long spurned at the yoke imposed on them by the Medes, were glad of such a leader, and ardently obeyed the call of liberty. Astyages was soon informed of the proceedings of Cyrus, and commanded his attendance. He returned for answer, that he should probably anticipate the wish of Astyages to see him. Astyages upon this collected the Medes, and, urged by some fatal impulse, appointed Harpagus to command his forces, not remembering the injury he formerly had done him. His army was embodied, the Medes met and engaged the Persians; they who were not privy to the plot fought with valour, the rest went over to the Persians; the greater part discovered no inclination to continue the combat, and hastily retreated.

CXXVIII. Astyages hearing of the ignominious defeat of his army, continued to menace Cyrus; and exclaimed, that he should still have no reason to exult. The first thing he did was to crucify the magi, the interpreters of dreams, who had prevailed upon him to send Cyrus away. He then armed all his citizens, young and old, without distinction. He led them against the Persians, and was vanquished: he himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his army destroyed.

CXXIX. In his captivity, Harpagus was present to insult and reproach him. Among other things, he asked him what was his opinion of that supper, in which he had compelled a father to feed on the flesh of his child, a supper which had reduced him from a monarch to a slave. In reply, Astyages requested to know if he imputed to himself the success of Cyrus? He confessed that he did, explained the means, and justified his conduct. Astyages told him, that he was then the most foolish and wicked of mankind;—most foolish, in acquiring for another the authority he might have enjoyed himself; most wicked, for reducing his countrymen to servitude, to gratify his private revenge. If he thought a change in the government really necessary, and was still determined not to as-

sume the supreme authority himself, justice should have induced him to have raised a Mede to that honour, rather than a Persian. The Medes, who were certainly not accessory to the provocation given, had exchanged situations with their servants; the Persians, who were formerly the servants, were now the masters.

CXXX. After a reign of thirty-five years, Astyages was thus deposed. To his cruelty of temper the Medes owed the loss of their power, after possessing, for the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years, all that part of Asia which lies beyond the Halys, deducting from this period the short interval of the Scythian dominion. In succeeding times, being dissatisfied with their condition, they took up arms against Darius; their attempt proved unsuccessful, and they were a second time reduced to servitude. From this period the Persians, who, under the conduct of Cyrus, had shaken off the power of the Medes, remained in undisturbed possession of Asia. Cyrus detained Astyages in captivity for the remainder of his life, but in no other instance treated him with severity.—Such is the history of the birth, education, and success of Cyrus. He afterwards, as I have before related, subdued Cræsus, who had attacked him unjustly; from which time he remained without a rival, sovereign of Asia.

CXXXI. I speak from my own knowledge when I say that the Persians observe the following manners and customs: They have among them neither statues, temples, nor altars, the use of which they censure as impious, and as a gross violation of reason, probably because, in opposition to the Greeks, they do not believe that the gods partake of our human nature. Their custom is, to offer, on the summits of the highest mountains, sacrifices to Jove, distinguishing by that appellation all the expanse of the firmament. They also adore the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds; which may be termed their original deities. In after times, from the example of the Assyrians and Arabians, they added Urania to this number. The name of the Assyrian Venus is Mylitta,

whom the Arabians called Alitta, and the Persians Mithra.

CXXXII. Their mode of paying their devotions to the above-mentioned deities, is this ; they use neither altars nor fire, libations nor instrumental music, garlands nor consecrated cakes ; but every individual, as he wishes to sacrifice to any particular divinity, conducts his victim to a place made clean for the purpose, and makes his invocation or his prayers with a tiara encircled generally with myrtle. The suppliant is not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone, his whole nation, and particularly his sovereign, have a claim to his prayers, himself being necessarily comprehended with the rest. He proceeds to divide his victim into several minute parts, which, when boiled, he places upon the most delicate verdure he can find, giving the preference to trefoil. When things are thus prepared, one of the magi, without whose presence no sacrifice is deemed lawful, stands up and chants the primæval origin of the gods, which they suppose to have a sacred and mysterious influence. The worshipper after this takes with him, for his own use, such parts of the flesh as he thinks proper.

CXXXIII. But beyond all other days, every one pays more particular regard to that of his birth, when they indulge themselves with better fare than usual. They who are richest, prepare on this day an ox, a horse, a camel, or an ass, which are roasted whole ; the poorer sort are satisfied with a lamb or a sheep : they eat but sparingly of meat, but are fond of the after dishes, which are separately introduced. From hence the Persians take occasion to say, that the Grecians leave their tables unsatisfied, having nothing good to induce them to continue there—if they had, they would eat more. Of wine they drink profusely : they may neither vomit nor make water before any one ; which customs they still observe. They are accustomed to deliberate on matters of the highest moment when warm with wine ; but whatever they in this situation may determine, is again proposed to them on the morrow, in their cooler moments, by the person in whose house they had before assembled. If

at this time also it shall meet their approbation, it is executed, otherwise it is rejected. Whatever, also, they discuss when sober, is always a second time examined after they have been drinking.

CXXXIV. If they meet at any time by accident, the rank of each party is easily discovered: if they are of equal dignity, they salute each other on the mouth; if one is an inferior, they only kiss the cheek; if there be a great difference in situation, the inferior falls prostrate on the ground. They treat with most respect those who live nearest to them; as they become more and more remote, their esteem of each other diminishes; for those who live very distant from them, they entertain not the smallest regard: esteeming themselves the most excellent of mankind, they think that the value of others must diminish in proportion to their distance. During the empire of the Medes, there was a regular gradation of authority; the Medes governed the whole as well as their immediate neighbours, but these were superior to those contiguous to them, who again held the next nation in subjection; which example the Persians followed when their dominions became extended, and their authority increased.

CXXXV. The Persians are of all men most inclined to adopt foreign manners: thinking the dress of the Medes more becoming than their own, they wear it in preference. They use also, in their armies, the Egyptian breast-plate: they discover an ardour for all pleasures of which they have heard; a passion for boys they learned from the Greeks, and each man has many wives, but many more concubines.

CXXXVI. Next to valour in the field, a man is esteemed in proportion to the number of his offspring; to him who has the greater number of children, the king sends presents every year; their national strength depending, as they suppose, on their numbers. From their fifth, to their twentieth year, they instruct their children in three things only, the art of the bow, horsemanship, and a strict regard to truth. Till his fifth year a boy is kept in the female apartments, and not permitted to see his father: the motive of which

is, that if the child die before this period, his death may give no uneasiness to the father.

CXXXVII. This appears commendable: I cannot but think highly of that custom also, which does not allow even the sovereign to put any one to death for a single offence; neither from any one provocation, is a Persian permitted to exercise extreme severity in his family. Severity is there only lawful, when, after careful examination, the offences are found to exceed the merits. They will not believe that any one ever killed his parent: when such accidents have apparently happened, they assert their belief, that the child would, on inquiry, be found either to have been the produce of adultery, or spurious; conceiving it altogether impossible, that any real parent can be killed by his own offspring.

CXXXVIII. Whatever they may not do, they must not even mention. They hold falsehood in the greatest abhorrence; next to which they esteem it disgraceful to be in debt, as well for other reasons, as for the temptations to falsehood, which they think it necessarily introduces. A leprous Persian must neither enter the city, nor have communication with any of his countrymen; this disease they always think occasioned by some offence committed against the sun. If a foreigner is afflicted with it, he is tumultuously expelled the country. They have also, for the same reason, an aversion to white pigeons. They pay extreme veneration to all rivers; they will neither spit, wash their hands, nor evacuate in any of them; nor will they allow a stranger to do so.

CXXXIX. They have one peculiarity, which, though they are not aware of it themselves, is notorious to us; all those words which are expressive of personal or of any other distinction, terminate in the Doric san, which is the same with the Ionic sigma: and attentive observation will farther discover, that all the names of Persians end without exception alike.

CXL. The above remarks are delivered without hesitation, as being the result of my own personal knowledge. They have other

which, as they are of a secret nature, I will not pretend to express myself decisively : as to what relates to their dead, I will not affirm it to be true, that these never are interred till some bird or dog has discovered a propensity to prey on them. This, however, is unquestionably certain of the magi, who publicly observe this custom. The Persians first enclose the dead body in wax, and afterwards place it in the ground. Their magi are different from all other men, as well as from the Egyptian priests. These last think it essential to their sanctity, to destroy no animals but the victims of sacrifice. The magi except a man and a dog, but put other animals without compunction to death. They even think it an action highly meritorious to destroy serpents, ants, and the different species of reptiles. After this digression, I return to my former subject.

CXLI. The Ionians and Æolians, after the conquest of Lydia by the Persians, immediately despatched ambassadors to Sardis, requesting Cyrus to receive them under his allegiance, upon the terms which Cræsus had formerly granted them. Cyrus gave them audience, and made them the following reply : " A certain piper, observing some fishes sporting in the sea, began to play to them, in hopes that they would voluntarily throw themselves on shore ; disappointed in his expectations, he threw his nets, enclosed a great number, and brought them to land ; seeing them leap about, " You may be quiet now," says he, " as you refused to come out to me when I played to you."—Cyrus was induced to return this answer to the Ionians and Æolians, because the Ionians had formerly disregarded his solicitations to withdraw their assistance from Cræsus, refusing all submission to Cyrus, till they were compelled by necessity to make it. This reply, therefore, of Cyrus was evidently dictated by resentment ; which, as soon as the Ionians had received, they fortified their towns, and all of them assembled at Panionium, except the Milesians : Cyrus had received these into his alliance, upon the conditions which they had formerly enjoyed from Cræsus. The general

determination of the Ionians, was to send ambassadors to Sparta, who were in their common name to supplicate assistance.

CXLII. These Ionians, who are members of the Panionium, enjoy beyond all people whom I have known purity of air and beauty of situation; the country above and below them, as well as those parts which lie to the east and west, being in every respect less agreeable. Some of them are both cold and moist; others parched by the extremity of the heat. Their language possesses four several distinctions. Miletus is their first city towards the south, next to which are Myus and Priene; all these are situate in Caria, and use the same language. In Lydia are the cities of Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phœcea, which have a dialect peculiar to themselves. There are three other cities properly called Ionian; two of these, Samos and Chios, are situated in islands; the other, Erythræ, is on the continent. The Chians and Erythræans speak alike; the Samian tongue is materially different. These are the four variations of language to which I alluded.

CXLIII. Of these Ionians, the Milesians were induced to court the friendship of Cyrus, from apprehensions of his power. The islanders had but little cause of fear, for the Persians had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, and were themselves ignorant of maritime affairs. The general imbecility of Greece, and the small importance of the Ionians in particular, were their motives for separating themselves from the body of that nation, of which they constituted a part; Athens, of all the Grecian cities, being the only one of any distinction. The appellation of Ionians was for this reason disdained by the Athenians, and by some other Ionians, which prejudice does not yet appear to be obliterated. In opposition to this, the above twelve cities are proud of the name, and have in consequence erected a sacred edifice, which they call the Panionium. They determined to admit no other of the Ionian cities to this temple, and the privilege was desired by those of Smyrna alone.

CXLIV. The Dorians now inhabiting Pentapolis,

which was formerly called Hexapolis, instituted a similar exemption; not admitting the neighbouring Dorians, nor indeed some of their own people, who had violated a sacred and established custom, to the temple of Triope. The prize of these games, which were celebrated in honour of the Triopian Apollo, was formerly a tripod of brass, which the victor was not expected to carry away, but to leave as a votive offering in the temple of the deity. A man of Halicarnassus, whose name was Agasicles, having obtained the victory, in violation of this custom, carried away the tripod, and hung it up in his house. To punish this offence, the five cities, Lindus, Jalyssus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus, excluded Halicarnassus from their religious ceremonies.

CXLV. It appears to me, that the Ionians divided themselves into twelve states, and were unwilling to connect themselves with more, because they were originally circumstanced in Peloponnesus, as the Achæans are at present, by whom the Ionians were expelled. The first of these is Pellene near Sicyon, then Ægira and Ægæ, through which the Crathis flows with a never-failing stream, giving its name to a well-known river of Italy. Next to these is Bura, then Helice, to which place the Ionians fled after being vanquished in battle by the Achæans. Next follow Ægium, Rhyppæ, Patræ, Pharæ, and Olenus, which is watered by the Pirus, a considerable river. The last are Dyme, and Tritæa, the only inland city.

CXLVI. These are the twelve states of the Achæans, to which the Ionians formerly belonged, who, for this reason, constructed an equal number of cities in the country which they afterwards inhabited. That these are more properly Ionians than the rest, it would be absurd to assert or to imagine. It is certain that the Abantes of Eubœa, who have neither name nor any thing else in common with Ionia, form a considerable part of them. They are, moreover, mixed with the Minyan-Orchomenians, the Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocidians, Molossians, the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians of Epidaurus, and various other nations. Even those who migrating from the Pryta-

neum of Athens, esteem themselves the most noble of all the Ionians, on their first settling in the country, brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women, whose parents they put to death. In consequence of this violence, the women made a compact amongst themselves, which they delivered to their daughters, never to sit at meals with their husbands, nor to call them by their appropriate names; which resolution was provoked by the murder of their parents, their husbands, and their children, and by their being afterwards compelled to marry the assassins.—The above happened at Miletus.

CXLVII. Of those chosen by these Ionians for their kings, some were Lydians, descended of Glaucus, the son of Hippolochus, and others, Caucon-Pylians, of the race of Codrus, son of Melanthus. These were more tenacious of their Ionian name than the rest of their countrymen; they are without question true and genuine Ionians: but this name may, in fact, be applied to all those of Athenian origin, who celebrate the Apaturian festival; from which it is to be observed, that the Ephesians and Colophonians are alone excluded, who had been guilty of the crime of murder.

CXLVIII. Panionium is a sacred place on Mycale, situate towards the north, which by the universal consent of the Ionians is consecrated to the Heliconian Neptune. Mycale is a promontory, projecting itself westward towards Samos. Upon this mountain the Ionians assemble from their different cities, to celebrate the Panionia. Not only the proper names of these religious ceremonies, but those of all the other Greeks, terminate, like the Persian proper names, in the same letter.

CXLIX. The above are the cities of Ionia. Those of Æolia are Cyme, sometimes called Phryconis, Larissæ, Neontichus, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægæa, Myrina, and Grynia; these were the eleven original cities of Æolia. There were formerly twelve on the continent; but Smyrna, which was one of them, the Ionians captured. The country possessed by the Æolians is in itself more excellent

than Ionia, though much inferior in the temperature of the air.

CL. The loss of Smyrna was occasioned by the following incident. Some inhabitants of Colophon, who had raised a sedition, and had been driven from their country, were received into Smyrna. They watched their opportunity, and whilst the citizens were engaged in celebrating the rites of Bacchus without the town, they secured the gates, and took possession of the place. All the Æolians assembled for its relief: they afterwards came to terms, and it was agreed that the Ionians should retain the city, restoring the former inhabitants their household goods. The Smyrneans were in consequence divided among the other cities, with enjoyment of the different privileges annexed to each.

CLI. The above are the Æolian cities on the continent, among which we have not enumerated those of mount Ida, which can hardly be said to make a part of their body. They have also in Lesbos five towns; there is a sixth, named Arisba, but this was subdued by the Methymneans, although allied to them by blood. They moreover possess a city in Tenedos, and another in the Hundred Islands. The inhabitants of Lesbos and Tenedos, as well as those of the Ionian Islands, were, from their situation, secure from danger; the others indiscriminately agreed to follow the direction and example of the Ionians.

CLII. The Ionians and Æolians made no delay in despatching ambassadors to Sparta, who, when there, selected for their speaker a man of Phocæa, whose name was Pythermus. Habited in purple, as a means of getting a greater number of Spartans together, he stood forth in the midst of them, and exerted all his powers to prevail on them to communicate their assistance. The Lacedæmonians paid no attention to him, and publicly resolved not to assist the Ionians. On the departure of the ambassadors they nevertheless despatched a vessel of fifty oars, to watch the proceedings of Cyrus, as well as of the Ionians. Arriving at Phocæa, they sent forwards to Sardis, one Lacrines,

the principal man of the party, who was commissioned to inform Cyrus that the Lacedæmonians would resent whatever injury might be offered to any of the Grecian cities.

CLIII. Cyrus gave audience to Lacrines; after which, he inquired of the Grecians around him, who those Lacedæmonians were, and what effective power they possessed, to justify this lofty language? When he was satisfied in these particulars, he told the Spartan, "That men who had a large void space in their city, where they assembled for the purpose of defrauding each other, could never be objects of terror to him: he farther observed, that if he continued but in health, he would take care that their concern for the Ionian troubles should be superseded by the greatness of their own." Cyrus made this reflection upon the Greeks, from the circumstance of their having large public squares for the convenience of trade: the Persians have nothing of the kind. Cyrus afterwards intrusted the care of Sardis to Tabalus, a Persian; the disposition of the Lydian treasures he intrusted to Pactyas, a Lydian: Cyrus himself proceeded to Ecbatane, taking Cræsus with him. He held the Ionians in trifling estimation, compared with what he expected in his views upon Babylon and the Bactrians. He was prepared also for more serious resistance from the Saccians and Egyptians; he therefore resolved to take the command in these expeditions himself, and to intrust one of his officers with the conduct of the Ionian war.

CLIV. As soon as Cyrus had left Sardis, Pactyas excited the Lydians to revolt. He proceeded towards the sea, and having all the wealth of Sardis at command, he procured a band of mercenaries, and prevailed on the inhabitants of the coast to enlist under his banners; he then encamped before Sardis, and besieged Tabalus in the citadel.

CLV. Intelligence of this was brought to Cyrus on his march; who thus addressed Cræsus on the subject: "What will, in your opinion, Cræsus, be the event of these disturbances? The Lydians seem inclined to

provide sufficient employment for me, and trouble for themselves: I am in doubt, whether it will not be better to reduce them altogether to servitude: I appear to myself in the situation of a man, who, destroying the parent, has spared the child—You, who were in every sense the parent of the Lydians, remain in captivity; and yet I am surprised that they, to whom I have restored their city, rebel against my power.” Cræsus, on hearing these sentiments of Cyrus, was alarmed for the safety of Sardis. “Sir,” he replied, “your remarks are certainly reasonable: but do not, in your anger, destroy an ancient city, which cannot justly be accused of the former or present commotions. Of its former troubles, I was the occasion, the penalty of which I suffer in my own person: Pactyas, who has abused your confidence, is the author of the present evils; let him, therefore, be the object of your resentment; but let the Lydians be forgiven, who may easily be prevented from giving you trouble or alarm hereafter. Let their arms be taken from them; let them be commanded to wear tunics under their cloaks, and buskins about their legs; suffer them to instruct their children in dancing, music, and other feminine accomplishments; you will soon, O king! see them lose the dignity of manhood, and be effectually delivered from all future apprehensions of their revolt.

CLVI. Cræsus was induced to make these suggestions, because he thought that even this situation would be better for his country, than a state of actual servitude. He was well assured, that unless what he had urged was forcible, Cyrus would not be prevailed upon to alter his determination. He reflected also on the probability of the Lydians revolting in future, if they escaped the present danger, and their consequent and unavoidable destruction. Cyrus took in good part the remonstrance of Cræsus, with which, forgetting his resentment, he promised to comply. He, in consequence, despatched Mazares the Mede, who was commissioned to enforce these observances among the Lydians, which Cræsus had recommended. He farther ordered all those to be sold as slaves, who had

been active in the Lydian revolt, excepting Pactyas, whom he desired to be brought a prisoner to his presence.

CLVII. These commands he issued in his progress, and marched without delay to Persia. As soon as Pactyas was informed that an army was advancing to oppose him, he fled in terror to Cyme. Mazares proceeded instantly to Sardis, with a small division of the army of Cyrus. When he heard of the flight of Pactyas, his first step was to compel the Lydians to the observance of what Cyrus had commanded. This proved so effectual, that it produced a total change in the manners of the Lydians. Mazares then despatched messengers to Cyme, demanding the person of Pactyas: with this the Cymeans hesitated to comply, and first of all sent persons to consult the oracle of Branchidæ, for directions how to act. This oracle was of the greatest antiquity, and consulted both by the Ionians and Æolians: it is in the territories of Miletus, beyond the port of Panormus.

CLVIII. Their messengers were directed to inquire what conduct, with respect to Pactyas, would be most conformable to the will of the gods: they were in answer commanded to deliver him up to the Persians; which step, on their return, was about to be followed. In contradiction to the general inclination, Aristodicus, son of Heraclides, a man exceedingly popular, distrusted the interpretation of the oracle, and the fidelity of the messengers. He proposed, therefore, that a second message of inquiry should be sent to the oracle, and he himself was among the persons appointed for this purpose.

CLIX. On their arrival at Branchidæ, Aristodicus was the person who addressed the oracle, which he did thus:—"To avoid a cruel death from the Persians, Pactyas, a Lydian, fled to us for refuge; the Persians required us to deliver him into their hands: much as we are afraid of their power, we fear still more to withdraw our protection from a suppliant, till we know your immutable opinion of such conduct." He nevertheless received the same answer; and they were ordered to deliver up Pactyas. To give greater force to

what he had said, Aristodicus made a circle round the temple, and from such nests as were built on the outside, he took the young. In consequence of his doing this, a voice is said to have exclaimed from the innermost recesses of the temple, "Impious man! how darest thou to injure those who have sought my protection?" In answer to this, Aristodicus replied with perfect composure, "Are you attentive to those who have sought your protection, and do you command us to abandon those who have sought ours?" "Yes," returned the oracle, "I do command it, that such impious men as you may perish the sooner, and that you may never more trouble me about delivering up suppliants."

CLX. The Cymeans deliberating on this answer, resolved to take a middle step, that they might neither offend heaven, by abandoning one who had sought their protection, nor expose themselves to the indignation of Cyrus, by refusing his request. Pactyas, therefore, was privately despatched to Mytilene. From hence also Mazares demanded him, and for a certain compensation the inhabitants of Mytilene agreed to deliver him. This, however, as the matter was never brought to an issue, I do not positively assert. The Cymeans, hearing the danger of Pactyas, sent a vessel to Lesbos, in which he was conveyed to Chios. He here took refuge in the temple of Minerva. The Chians were prevailed on by the offer of Atarneus, a place in Mysia opposite to Lesbos, to take him forcibly from hence, and surrender him to his enemies. The Persians thus obtained the means of complying with the wish of Cyrus, to have Pactyas delivered alive into his hands. Long, however, after this event, the Chians refused to use any part of the produce of Atarneus in any of their sacred ceremonies; they appeared to hold it in particular detestation, and it was not in any form introduced in their temples.

CLXI. After Pactyas had been given up by the Chians, Mazares proceeded to reduce those to obedience who had opposed Tabalus. The Prienians were subdued and sold for slaves; the plains of the Meander, and the city of Magnesia, were given up for plunder.

der to the soldiers: after these events Mazares fell a victim to a sudden disease.

CLXH. Harpagus the Mede was appointed to succeed him; this was the man whom Astyages had entertained with so unnatural a feast, and who had assisted Cyrus in obtaining the kingdom: him Cyrus appointed to the command of his army. On his arrival in Ionia, he blockaded the different towns, by throwing up entrenchments before them; Phocæa was the first city of Ionia which thus fell into his hands.

CLXIII. The Phocæans were the first of the Greeks who made long voyages. The Adriatic and the Tyrrhene seas, Iberia and Tartessus, were first of all explored by them. Their vessels were not round, but of fifty oars. On their touching at Tartessus, they conciliated the favour of Arganthonius, sovereign of the place; he had then governed the Tartessians for the space of eighty years, and he lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. Upon that occasion he formed such a regard for the Phocæans, that, soliciting them to leave Ionia, he gave them permission to choose within his territories whatever situation they might prefer. On their refusal of his offer, and when he heard from them that the power of the Mede was continually increasing, he supplied them with money to build walls to their city. The extent of the walls, which were of many furlongs, the size of the stones, with the skill of the workmanship, sufficiently attest the donor's liberality.

CLXIV. The Phocæans being thus provided with walls, Harpagus advanced and attacked their city. He offered them terms, and engaged to leave them unmolested, if they would suffer one of their towers to be demolished, and give up some one edifice for a sacred purpose. From their aversion to servitude, the inhabitants requested a day to deliberate on his proposal; desiring him in that interval to withdraw his forces. Harpagus avowed himself conscious of their intentions, but granted their request. Immediately on his retiring from their walls, the Phocæans prepared their fifty-oared galleys, in which they placed their families and effects. They collected also the statues

and votive offerings from their temples, leaving only paintings, and such works of iron or of stone as could not easily be removed. With these they embarked, and directed their course to Chios. Thus deserted by its inhabitants, the Persians took possession of Phocæa.

CLXV. On their arrival at Chios, they made proposals for the purchase of the *Ænussæ* islands; not succeeding in their object, as the Chians were afraid of being by these means injured in their commerce, the Phocæans proceeded to Cynus. In this place, twenty years before, they had, under some oracular direction, built a town, to which they gave the name of Alalia. Arganthonius in the mean while had died, and the Phocæans in their way to Cynus touched at Phocæa, where they put to death every one of the garrison, which had been left by Harpagus for the defence of the place. After this, they bound themselves under solemn curses never to desert each other. They farther agreed by an oath never to return to Phocæa, till a red-hot ball of iron, which they threw into the sea, should rise again. Notwithstanding these engagements, the greater part of them were, during the voyage, seized with so tender and such affectionate regret for their ancient residence, that they returned to Phocæa. Such of them as adhered to their former solemn resolutions, proceeded on their course from *Ænussæ* to Cynus.

CLXVI. Here they settled, lived in peace with the ancient inhabitants, for the space of five years, and erected some temples. In consequence, however, of their committing depredations on all their neighbours, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians collected a fleet of sixty vessels, to oppose them. The Phocæans on their part were not inactive; they also fitted out sixty vessels, and advanced to meet their adversaries on the Sardinian sea. The fleets engaged, the Phocæans conquered, but obtained what might be termed a Cadmean victory. They lost forty of their vessels, and the twenty which remained were unfit for all service. Returning, therefore, to Alalia, they got together their families and effects, loaded their ships with all

that they could carry, and, abandoning Cynus, directed their course to Rhegium.

CLXVII. On board the vessels which were taken by the enemy, were a number of prisoners, most of whom were carried on shore, and stoned to death. After which enormity, it happened that all the men, cattle, and different animals belonging to Agylla, which approached this spot, were seized with convulsions, and deformity of one kind or other. This circumstance, and a wish to atone for their crime, induced the people of Agylla to consult the Delphic oracle. The Pythian directed them to perform, what is still observed as a custom among them: they instituted magnificent funeral rites in honour of those who had been slain, and they introduced gymnastic and equestrian exercises in their honour. Such was the fate of this portion of the Phocians. They who retired to Rhegium took possession of a part of Ænoëria, and built a city called Hyela. To this they were persuaded by a man of Posidonia, who instructed them that the oracle really intended them to build a mausoleum to the hero Cynus, and not a city in the island of that name.—Such is the history of the Phocians of Ionia.

CLXVIII. The fortune of the Teians was nearly similar; Harpagus having taken their city by blockade, they embarked, and passed over into Thrace; here they built Abdera, the foundations of which were originally laid by Timesius of Clazomenæ. He enjoyed no advantage from his labours, but was banished by the Thracians, though now venerated by the Teians of Abdera, as a hero.

CLXIX. These Ionians alone, through a warm attachment to liberty, thus abandoned their native country. The rest of these people, excepting the Milesians, met Harpagus in the field, and like their friends, who had sought another residence, fought like men and patriots. Upon being conquered, they continued in their several cities, and submitted to the wills of their new masters. The Milesians, who, as I have before mentioned, had formed a league of amity with Cyrus, lived in undisturbed tranquillity. Thus

was Ionia reduced a second time to servitude. Awed by the fate of their countrymen on the continent, the Ionians of the islands, without any resistance, submitted themselves to Harpagus and Cyrus.

CLXX. The Ionians, though thus depressed, did not omit assembling at Panionium, where as I have been informed, Bias of Priene gave them advice so full of wisdom, that their compliance with it would have rendered them the happiest of the Greeks. He recommended them to form one general fleet, to proceed with this to Sardinia, and there erect one city capable of receiving all the Ionians. Thus they might have lived in the enjoyment of their liberties, and possessing the greatest of all the islands, might have been secure of the dependence of the rest. On the contrary, their continuance in Ionia rendered every expectation of their recovering their independence quite impossible. This, in their fallen condition, was the advice of Bias; but before their calamities, Thales the Milesian, who was in fact of Phœnician origin, had wisely counselled them to have one general representation of the Ionians at Teos, this being a central situation: of which the other cities, still using their own customs and laws, might be considered as so many different tribes. Such were the different suggestions of these two persons.

CLXXI. On the reduction of Ionia, Harpagus incorporated the Ionians and Æolians with his forces, and proceeded against the Carians, Caunians and Lycians. The Carians formerly were islanders, in subjection to Minos, and called Leleges. But I do not, after the strictest examination, find that they ever paid tribute. They supplied Minos, as often as he requested, with a number of vessels, and at the period of his great prosperity and various victories, were distinguished above their neighbours by their ingenuity. Three improvements now in use among the Greeks, are imputed to them. The Carians were the first who added crests to their helmets, and ornaments to their shields. They were also the first who gave the shield its handle. Before their time, such as bore shields had means of managing them, but by a piece of

leather suspended from the neck over the left shoulder. After a long interval of time, the Dorians and Ionians expelled the Carians, who, thus driven from the islands, settled on the continent. The above information concerning the Carians is received from Crete; they themselves contradict it altogether, and affirm that they are original natives of the continent, and had never but one name. In confirmation of this, they show at Mylassa, a very ancient structure, built in honour of the Carian Jove, to the privileges of which the Lydians and Mysians are also admitted, as being of the same origin. According to their account, Lydus and Misus were brothers of Cares; the use of the above temple is therefore granted to their descendants, but to no other nation, though distinguished by the use of the same language.

CLXXII. The Caunians are in my opinion the aborigines of the country, notwithstanding their own assertion that they came from Crete. I am not able to speak with decision on the subject; but it is certain, that either they adopted the Carian, or the Carians accommodated themselves to their language. Their laws and customs differ essentially from those of other nations, and no less so from the Carians. Among them it is esteemed highly meritorious to make drinking parties, to which they resort in crowds, both men, women, and children, according to their different ages and attachments. In earlier times they adopted the religious ceremonies of foreign nations; but determining afterwards to have no deities but those of their own country, they assembled of all ages in arms, and rushing forwards, brandishing their spears as in the act of pursuit, they stopped not until they came to the mountains of Calynda, crying aloud that they were expelling their foreign gods.

CLXXIII. The Lycians certainly derive their origin from Crete. The whole of this island was formerly possessed by barbarians; but a contest for the supreme power arising between Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa, Minos prevailed, and expelled Sarpedon and his adherents. These, leaving their country, came to that part of Asia which is called Milyas. The coun-

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try of the Lycians was formerly called Milyas, and the Milyans were anciently known by the name of Solymi. Here Sarpedon governed; his subjects retained the names they brought, and indeed they are now by their neighbours called Termilians. Lycus, the son of Pandion, being also driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, went to Sarpedon, at Termilæ; in process of time the nation was, after him, called Lycians. Their laws are partly Cretan and partly Carian. They have one distinction from which they never deviate, which is peculiar to themselves; they take their names from their mothers, and not from their fathers. If any one is asked concerning his family, he proceeds immediately to give an account of his descent, mentioning the female branches only. If any free woman marries a slave, the children of such marriage are reputed free; but if a man who is a citizen, and of authority among them, marry a concubine, or a foreigner, his children can never attain any dignity in the state.

CLXXIV. Upon this occasion the Carians made no remarkable exertions, but afforded an easy victory to Harpagus. The Carians, indeed, were not less pusillanimous than all the Greeks inhabiting this district; among whom are the Cnidians, a Lacedæmonian colony, whose territories, called Triopium, extend to the sea. The whole of this country, except the Bybasian peninsula, is surrounded with water: on the north by the bay of Ceramus; and on the west by that sea which flows near Syme and Rhodes. Through this peninsula, which was only five furlongs in extent, the Cnidians endeavoured to make a passage, whilst the forces of Harpagus were employed against Ionia. The whole of this country lying beyond the isthmus being their own, they meant thus to reduce it into the form of an island. Whilst they were engaged in this employment, the labourers were wounded in different parts of the body, and particularly in the eyes, by small pieces of flint, which seemed to fly about in so wonderful a manner as to justify their apprehensions that some supernatural power had interfered. They sent therefore to make inquiries at Delphi, what power it was, which thus opposed their efforts? The

Pythian, according to their own tradition, answered them thus :

Nor build, nor dig; for wiser Heav'n  
Had, were it best, an island giv'n.

Upon this the Cnidians desisted from their purpose, and, on the approach of the enemy, surrendered themselves, without resistance, to Harpagus.

CLXXV. The inland country beyond Halicarnassus was inhabited by the Pedasians. Of them it is affirmed, that whenever they or their neighbours are menaced by any calamity, a prodigious beard grows from the chin of the priestess of Minerva : this, they say, has happened three several times. They, having fortified mount Lida, were the only people of Caria who discovered any resolution in opposing Harpagus. After many exertions of bravery, they were at length subdued.

CLXXVI. When Harpagus led his army towards Xanthus, the Lycians boldly advanced to meet him, and, though inferior in number, behaved with the greatest bravery. Being defeated, and pursued into their city, they collected their wives, children, and valuable effects, into the citadel, and there consumed the whole, in one immense fire. They afterwards uniting themselves under the most solemn curses, made a private sally upon the enemy, and were every man put to death. Of those who now inhabited Lycia, calling themselves Xanthians, the whole are foreigners, eighty families excepted : these survived the calamity of their country, being at that time absent on some foreign expedition. Thus Xanthus fell into the hands of Harpagus ; as also did Caunus, whose people imitated, almost in every respect, the example of the Lycians.

CLXXVII. Whilst Harpagus was thus engaged in the conquest of the Lower Asia, Cyrus himself conducted an army against the upper regions, of every part of which he became master. The particulars of his victories I shall omit ; expatiating only upon those which are most memorable in themselves, and which Cyrus found the most difficult to accomplish. When

he had reduced the whole of the continent, he commenced his march against the Assyrians.

CLXXVIII. The Assyrians are masters of many capital towns; but their place of greatest strength and fame is Babylon, which, after the destruction of Nineveh, was the royal residence. It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square: each side, by every approach, is one hundred and twenty furlongs in length; the space, therefore, occupied by the whole is four hundred and eighty furlongs. So extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies: its internal beauty and magnificence exceeds whatever has come within my knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water: the wall beyond this, is two hundred royal cubits high, and fifty wide: the royal exceeds the common cubit by three digits.

CLXXIX. I here think it right to describe the use, to which the earth dug out of the trench was converted, as well as the particular manner in which they constructed the wall. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and, when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used as cement, a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed betwixt every thirtieth course of bricks. Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner; on the summit of which, and fronting each other, they erected small watch-towers of one story, leaving a space betwixt them; through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different distances, were an hundred massy gates of brass, whose hinges and frames were of the same metal. Within an eight days' journey from Babylon is a city called Is; near which flows a river of the same name, which empties itself into the Euphrates. With the current of this river, particles of bitumen descend towards Babylon, by the means of which its walls were constructed.

CLXXX. The great river Euphrates, which, with its deep and rapid streams, rises in the Armenian

mountains, and pours itself into the Red Sea, divides Babylon into two parts. The walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town, where a breast-work of burnt bricks begins, and is continued along each bank. The city, which abounds in houses from three to four stories in height, is regularly divided into streets. Through these, which are parallel, there are transverse avenues to the river, opened through the wall and breast-work, and secured by an equal number of little gates of brass.

CLXXXI. The first wall is regularly fortified; the interior one, though less in substance, is of almost equal strength. Besides these, in the centre of each division of the city, there is a circular space surrounded by a wall. In one of these stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space. The temple of Jupiter Belus occupies the other, whose huge gates of brass may still be seen. It is a square building, each side of which is of the length of two furlongs. In the midst a tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one furlong; upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure there is a convenient resting-place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch magnificently adorned, and near it a table of solid gold; but there is no statue in the place. No man is suffered to sleep here; but the apartment is occupied by a female, who, as the Chaldean priests affirm, is selected by their deity from the whole nation as the object of his pleasures.

CLXXXII. They themselves have a tradition, which cannot easily obtain credit; that their deity enters this temple, and reposes by night on this couch. A similar assertion is also made by the Egyptians of Thebes; for, in the interior part of the temple of the Theban Jupiter, a woman in like manner sleeps. Of these two women, it is presumed that neither of them have any communication with the other sex. In which predicament the priestess of the temple of Patara in Lycia is also placed. Here is no regular oracle; but whenever

a divine communication is expected, the priestess is obliged to pass the preceding night in the temple.

CLXXXIII. In this temple, there is also a small chapel, lower in the building, which contains a figure of Jupiter in a sitting posture, with a large table before him; these, with the base of the table, and the seat of the throne, are all of the purest gold, and are estimated by the Chaldeans to be worth eight hundred talents. On the outside of this chapel, there are two altars; one is of gold, the other is of immense size, and appropriated to the sacrifice of full-grown animals: those only which have not left their dams, may be offered on the altar of gold. Upon the larger altar, at the time of the anniversary festival in honour of their god, the Chaldeans regularly consume incense, to the amount of a thousand talents. There was formerly in this temple, a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high; this, however, I mention from the information of the Chaldeans, and not from my own knowledge. Darius the son of Hystaspes endeavoured by sinister means to get possession of this, not daring openly to take it; but his son Xerxes afterwards seized it, putting the priest to death who endeavoured to prevent its removal. The temple, besides those ornaments which I have described, contains many offerings of individuals.

CLXXXIV. Among the various sovereigns of Babylon, who contributed to the strength of its walls, and the decoration of its temples, and of whom I shall make mention when I treat of the Assyrians, there were two females, the former of these was named Semiramis, who preceded the other by an interval of five generations. This queen raised certain mounds, which are indeed admirable works; till then the whole plain was subject to violent inundations from the river.

CLXXXV. The other queen was called Nitocris: she being a woman of superior understanding, not only left many permanent works, which I shall hereafter describe, but also having observed the increasing power and restless spirit of the Medes, and that Nineveh, with other cities, had fallen a prey to their ambition, put her dominions in the strongest posture of de-

fence. To effect this, she sunk a number of canals above Babylon, which by their disposition rendered the Euphrates, which before flowed to the sea in an almost even line, so complicated by its windings, that in its passage to Babylon, it arrives three times at Ardericca, an Assyrian village: and to this hour they who wish to go from the sea up the Euphrates to Babylon, are compelled to touch at Ardericca three times on three different days. The banks also, which she raised to restrain the river on each side, are really wonderful from their enormous height and substance. At a considerable distance above Babylon, turning aside a little from the stream, she ordered an immense lake to be dug, sinking it till they came to the water: its circumference was no less than four hundred and twenty furlongs. The earth of this was applied to the embankments of the river; and the sides of the trench or lake were strengthened and lined with stones, brought thither for that purpose. She had in view by these works, first of all to break the violence of the current by the number of circumflexions, and also to render the navigation to Babylon, as difficult and tedious as possible. These things were done in that part of her dominions which was most accessible to the Medes; and with the farther view of keeping them in ignorance of her affairs, by giving them no commercial encouragement.

CLXXXVI. Having rendered both of these works strong and secure, she proceeded to execute the following project. The city being divided by the river into two distinct parts, whoever wanted to go from one side to the other was obliged, in the time of the former kings, to pass the water in a boat. For this, which was a matter of general inconvenience, she provided this remedy, and the immense lake which she had before sunk, became the farther means of extending her fame:—Having procured a number of large stones, she changed the course of the river, directing it into the canal prepared for its reception. When this was full, the natural bed of the river became dry, and the embankments on each side, near those smaller gates which led to the water, were lined

with bricks hardened by fire, similar to those which had been used in the construction of the wall. She afterwards, nearly in the centre of the city, with the stones above mentioned, strongly compacted with iron and with lead, erected a bridge; over this the inhabitants passed in the day time by a square platform, which was removed in the evening to prevent acts of mutual depredation. When the above canal was thoroughly filled with water, and the bridge completely finished and adorned, the Euphrates was suffered to return to its original bed: thus both the canal and the bridge were confessedly of the greatest utility to the public.

CLXXXVII. The above queen was also celebrated for another instance of ingenuity: she caused her tomb to be erected over one of the principal gates of the city, and so situated as to be obvious to universal inspection: it was thus inscribed—"If any of the sovereigns, my successors, shall be in extreme want of money, let him open my tomb, and take what money he may think proper; if his necessity be not great, let him forbear, the experiment will perhaps be dangerous." The tomb remained without injury till the time and reign of Darius. He was equally offended at the gate's being rendered useless, and that the invitation thus held out to become affluent, should have been so long neglected. The gate, it is to be observed, was of no use, from the general aversion to pass through a place over which a dead body was laid. Darius opened the tomb; but instead of finding riches, he saw only the dead body, with a label of this import: "If your avarice had not been equally base and insatiable, you would not have disturbed the repose of the dead."—Such are the traditions concerning this queen.

CLXXXVIII. Against her son Labynitus, who, with the name of his father, enjoyed the empire of Assyria, Cyrus conducted his army. The great king, in his warlike expeditions, is provided from home with cattle, and all other necessities for his table. There is also carried with him water of the river Choaspea, which flows near Susa, for the king drinks of

no other; wherever he goes he is attended by a number of four wheeled carriages, drawn by mules, in which the water of Choaspes, being first boiled, is deposited in vessels of silver.

**CLXXXIX.** Cyrus in his march to Babylon arrived at the river Gyndes, which rising in the mountains of Matiene, and passing through the country of the Darneans, loses itself in the Tigris: and this, after flowing by Opis, is finally discharged into the Red Sea. Whilst Cyrus was endeavouring to pass this river, which could not be performed without boats, one of the white consecrated horses boldly entering the stream, in his attempts to cross it was borne away by the rapidity of the current, and totally lost. Cyrus, exasperated by the accident, made a vow, that he would render this stream so very insignificant, that women should be hereafter able to cross it without so much as wetting their knees. He accordingly suspended his designs upon Babylon, and divided his forces into two parts: he then marked out with a line, on each side the river, one hundred and eighty trenches; these were dug according to his orders, and so great a number of men were employed, that he accomplished his purpose, but he thus wasted the whole of that summer.

**CXC.** Cyrus having thus satisfied his resentment with respect to the Gyndes, on the approach of spring prepared to march towards Babylon; the Babylonians awaited him in arms: as he advanced they met and gave him battle, but were defeated, and chased into the town. The inhabitants were well acquainted with the restless and ambitious temper of Cyrus, and had guarded against this event, by collecting provisions and other necessaries sufficient for many years support, which induced them to regard a siege, as a matter of small importance; and Cyrus, after much time lost, without having made the smallest progress, was reduced to great perplexity.

**CXCI.** Whilst in this state of anxiety he adopted the following expedient, either from the suggestions of others, or from the deliberation of his own judgment:—He placed one detachment of his forces where

the river first enters the city, and another where it leaves it, directing them to enter the channel, and attack the town whenever a passage could be effected. After this disposition of his men, he withdrew with the less effective of his troops to the marshy ground which we have before described. Here he pursued in every respect the example of the Babylonian princes; he pierced the bank, and introduced the river into the lake, by which means the bed of the Euphrates became sufficiently shallow for the object he had in view. The Persians in their station watched the proper opportunity, and when the stream had so far retired as not to be higher than their thighs, they entered Babylon without difficulty. If the besieged had either been aware of the designs of Cyrus, or had discovered the project before its actual accomplishment, they might have effected the total destruction of these troops. They had only to secure the little gates which led to the river, and to have manned the embankments on either side, and they might have enclosed the Persians in a net from which they could never have escaped: as it happened, they were taken by surprise; and such is the extent of the city, that, as the inhabitants themselves affirm, they who lived in the extremities were made prisoners, before any alarm was communicated to the centre of the place. It was a day of festivity among them, and whilst the citizens were engaged in dance and merriment, Babylon was, for the first time, thus taken.

CXCII. The following exists, amongst many other proofs which I shall hereafter produce, of the power and greatness of Babylon. Independent of those subsidies which are paid monthly to the Persian monarch; the whole of his dominions are obliged throughout the year to provide subsistence for him and for his army: Babylon alone raises a supply for four months, eight being proportioned to all the rest of Asia; so that the resources of this region are considered as adequate to a third part of Asia. The government also of this country, which the Persians call a satrapy, is deemed by much the noblest in the empire. When Tritan-tæchmes, son of Artabazus, was appointed to this

principality by the king, he received every day an artaby of silver. The artaby is a Persian measure, which exceeds the Attic medimnus by about three chanicees. Besides his horses for military service, this province maintained for the sovereign's use a stud of eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares, one horse being allotted to twenty mares. He had moreover so immense a number of Indian dogs, that four great towns in the vicinity of Babylon were exempted from every other tax, but that of maintaining them.

CXCIII. The Assyrians have but little rain, the lands, however, are fertilized, and the fruits of the earth nourished, by means of the river. This does not, like the Egyptian Nile, enrich the country by overflowing its banks, but is dispersed by manual labour, or by hydraulic engines. The Babylonian district, like Egypt, is intersected by a number of canals, the largest of which, continued with a south-east course from the Euphrates to that part of the Tigris where Nineveh stands, is capable of receiving vessels of burden. Of all countries which have come within my observation, this is far the most fruitful in corn. Fruit-trees, such as the vine, the olive, and the fig, they do not even attempt to cultivate; but the soil is so particularly well adapted for corn, that it never produces less than two hundred fold; in seasons which are remarkably favourable, it will sometimes rise to three hundred: the ear of their wheat as well as barley is four digits in size. The immense height to which millet and sesamum will grow, although I have witnessed it myself, I know not how to mention. I am well aware that they who have not visited this country will deem whatever I may say on the subject a violation of probability. They have no oil but what they extract from the sesamum. The palm is a very common plant in this country, and generally fruitful: this they cultivate like fig-trees, and it produces them bread, wine, and honey. The process observed is this: they fasten the fruit of that which the Greeks term the male tree to the one which produces the date, by

this means the worm which is contained in the former entering the fruit, ripens and prevents it from dropping immaturity. The male palms bear insects in their fruit, in the same manner as the wild fig-trees.

CXCIV. Of all that I saw in this country, next to Babylon itself, what to me appeared the greatest curiosity, were the boats. These which are used by those who come to the city, are of a circular form, and made of skins. They are constructed in Armenia, in the parts above Assyria, where the sides of the vessels being formed of willow, are covered externally with skins, and having no distinction of head or stern, are modelled into the shape of a shield. Lining the bottoms of these boats with reeds, they take on board their merchandize, and thus commit themselves to the stream. The principal article of their commerce is palm wine, which they carry in casks. The boats have two oars, one man to each; one pulls to him, the other pushes from him. These boats are of very different dimensions; some of them are so large as to bear freights to the value of five thousand talents; the smaller of them has one ass on board; the larger, several. On their arrival at Babylon, they dispose of all their cargo, selling the ribs of their boats, the matting, and every thing but the skins which cover them; these they lay upon their asses, and with them return to Armenia. The rapidity of the stream is too great to render their return by water practicable. This is perhaps the reason which induces them to make their boats of skin, rather than of wood. On their return with their asses to Armenia, they make other vessels in the manner we have before described.

CXCV. Their clothing is of this kind: they have two vests, one of linen which falls to the feet, another over this which is made of wool; a white sash connects the whole. The fashion of their shoes is peculiar to themselves, though somewhat resembling those worn by the Thebans. They wear their hair long, and covered with a turban, and are lavish in their use of perfumes. Each person has a seal ring, and a cane, or walking-stick, upon the top of which

carved an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, or some figure or other : for to have a stick without a device, is unlawful.

CXCVI. In my description of their laws, I have to mention one, the wisdom of which I must admire; and which, if I am not misinformed, the Eneti, who are of Illyrian origin, use also. In each of their several districts this custom was every year observed : such of their virgins as were marriageable, were at an appointed time and place assembled together. Here the men also came, and some public officer sold by auction the young women one by one, beginning with the most beautiful. When she was disposed of, and as may be supposed for a considerable sum, he proceeded to sell the one who was next in beauty, taking it for granted that each man married the maid he purchased. The more affluent of the Babylonian youths contended with much ardour and emulation to obtain the most beautiful : those of the common people who were desirous of marrying, as if they had but little occasion for personal accomplishments, were content to receive the more homely maidens, with a portion annexed to them. For the crier, when he had sold the fairest, selected next the most ugly, or one that was deformed ; she also was put up to sale, and assigned to whoever would take her with the least money. This money was what the sale of the beautiful maidens produced, who were thus obliged to portion out those who were deformed, or less lovely than themselves. No man was permitted to provide a match for his daughter, nor could any one take away the woman whom he purchased, without first giving security to make her his wife. To this if he did not assent, his money was returned him. There were no restrictions with respect to residence ; those of another village might also become purchasers. This, although the most wise of all their institutions, has not been preserved to our time. One of their later ordinances was made to punish violence offered to women, and to prevent their being carried away to other parts ; for after the city had been taken, and the inhabitants plundered,

the lower people were reduced to such extremities, that they prostituted their daughters for hire.

CXCVII. They have also another institution, the good tendency of which claims applause. Such as are diseased among them they carry into some public square : they have no professors of medicine, but the passengers in general interrogate the sick person concerning his malady ; that if any person has either been afflicted with a similar disease himself, or seen its operation on another, he may communicate the process by which his own recovery was effected, or by which, in any other instance, he knew the disease to be removed. No one may pass by the afflicted person in silence, or without inquiry into the nature of his complaint.

CXCVIII. Previous to their interment, their dead are anointed with honey, and, like the Ægyptians, they are fond of funeral lamentations. Whenever a man has had communication with his wife, he sits over a consecrated vessel, containing burning perfumes ; the woman does the same. In the morning both of them go into the bath ; till they have done this, they will neither of them touch any domestic utensil. This custom is also observed in Arabia.

CXCIX. The Babylonians have one custom in the highest degree abominable. Every woman who is a native of the country is obliged once in her life to attend at the temple of Venus, and prostitute herself to a stranger. Such women as are of superior rank, do not omit even this opportunity of separating themselves from their inferiors ; these go to the temple in splendid chariots, accompanied by a numerous train of domestics, and place themselves near the entrance. This is the practice with many ; whilst the greater part, crowned with garlands, seat themselves in the vestibule ; and there are always numbers coming and going. The seats have all of them a rope or string annexed to them, by which the stranger may determine his choice. A woman having once taken this situation, is not allowed to return home, till some stranger throws her a piece of money ; and leading her

to a distance from the temple, enjoys her person. It is usual for the man, when he gives the money, to say, "May the goddess Mylitta be auspicious to thee!" Mylitta being the Assyrian name of Venus. The money given is applied to sacred uses, and must not be refused, however small it may be. The woman is not suffered to make any distinction, but is obliged to accompany whoever offers her money. She afterwards makes some conciliatory oblation to the goddess, and returns to her house, never afterwards to be obtained on similar, or on any terms. Such as are eminent for their elegance and beauty do not continue long, but those who are of less engaging appearance, have sometimes been known to remain from three to four years, unable to accomplish the terms of the law. It is to be remarked, that the inhabitants of Cyprus have a similar observance.

CC. In addition to the foregoing account of Babylonian manners, we may observe, that there are three tribes of this people, whose only food is fish. They prepare it thus; having dried it in the sun, they beat it very small in a mortar, and afterwards sift it through a piece of fine cloth; they then form it into cakes, or bake it as bread.

CCI. After his conquest of this people, Cyrus extended his ambitious views to the Massagetæ, a great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river Araxes, to the extreme parts of the east. They are opposite to the Issedonians, and are by some esteemed a Scythian nation.

CCII. Concerning the magnitude of the Araxes, there are various representations; some pronouncing it less, others greater, than the Danube. There are many islands scattered up and down in it, some of which are nearly equal to Lesbos in extent. The people who inhabit these, subsist during the summer on such roots as they dig out of the earth, preserving for their winter's provision, the ripe produce of their fruit-trees. They have amongst them a tree whose fruit has a most singular property. Assembled round a fire, which they make for this purpose, they throw into the midst of it the above fruit, and the same inebriation is

communicated to them from the smell; as the Greeks experience from excess of wine. As they become more exhilarated, they throw on a greater quantity of fruit, and are at length so far transported as to leap up, dance, and sing.—This is what I have heard of the customs of this people. The Araxes, like the Gyn-des, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty rivulets, rises among the Matienian hills. It separates itself into forty mouths, all of which, except one, lose themselves in bogs and marshes, among which a people are said to dwell, who feed upon raw fish, and clothe themselves with the skins of sea-calves. The larger stream of the Araxes continues its even course to the Caspian.

CCIII. The Caspian is an ocean by itself, and communicates with no other. The sea frequented by the Greeks, the Red Sea, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, are all one ocean. The Caspian forms one unconnected sea: a swift-oared Boat would in fifteen days measure its length, its extreme breadth in eight. It is bounded on the west by mount Caucasus, the largest and perhaps the highest mountain in the world. Caucasus is inhabited by various nations, many of whom are said to subsist on what the soil spontaneously produces. They have trees whose leaves possess a most singular property: they beat them to powder, and, then steep them in water; this forms a dye, with which they paint figures of animals on their garments. The impression is so very strong, that it cannot be washed out; it appears to be interwoven in the cloth, and endures as long as the garment. The sexes communicate promiscuously, and in public, like the brutes.

CCIV. Caucasus terminates that part of the Caspian which extends to the west: it is bounded on the east by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which forms the country of the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus meditated an attack. He was invited and urged by many strong incentives. When he considered the peculiar circumstances of his birth, he believed himself more than human. He reflected also on the prosperity of his arms, and that whenever he

had extended his incursions, he had been followed by success and victory.

CCV. The Massagetæ were then governed by a queen, who was a widow, and named Tomyris. Cyrus sent ambassadors to her with overtures of marriage: the queen, concluding that his real object was the possession, not of her person, but her kingdom, forbade his approach. Cyrus, on finding these measures ineffectual, advanced to the Araxes, openly discovering his hostile designs upon the Massagetæ. He then threw a bridge of boats over the river, for the passage of his forces, which he also fortified with turrets.

CCVI. Whilst he was engaged in this difficult undertaking, Tomyris sent by her ambassadors this message: "Sovereign of the Medes, uncertain as you must be of the event, we advise you to desist from your present purpose. Be satisfied with the dominion of your own kingdom, and let us alone, seeing how we govern our subjects. You will not, however, listen to this salutary counsel, loving any thing rather than peace: If, then, you are really impatient to encounter the Massagetæ, give up your present labour of constructing a bridge; we will retire three days march into our country, and you shall pass over at your leisure; or, if you had rather receive us in your own territories, do you as much for us." On hearing this, Cyrus called a council of his principal officers, and, laying the matter before them, desired their advice how to act. They were unanimously of opinion, that he should retire, and wait for Tomyris in his own dominions.

CCVII. Cræsus the Lydian, who assisted at the meeting, was of a different sentiment, which he defended in this manner: "I have before remarked, O king! that since Providence has rendered me your captive, it becomes me to exert all my abilities in obviating whatever menaces you with misfortune. I have been instructed in the severe but useful school of adversity. If you were immortal yourself, and commanded an army of immortals, my advice might be justly thought impertinent; but if you confess yourself a human leader, of forces that are human, it be-

comes you to remember that sublunary events have a circular motion, and that their revolution does not permit the same man always to be fortunate. Upon this present subject of debate I dissent from the majority. If you await the enemy in your own dominion, a defeat may chance to lose you all your empire; the victorious Massagetæ, instead of retreating to their own, will make farther inroad into your territories. If you conquer, you will still be a loser by that interval of time and place, which must be necessarily employed in the pursuit. I will suppose that, after victory, you will instantly advance into the dominions of Tomyris; yet can Cyrus the son of Cambyses, without disgrace and infamy, retire one foot of ground from a female adversary? I would therefore recommend, that having passed over with our army, we proceed on our march till we meet the enemy; then let us contend for victory and honour. I have been informed the Massagetæ lead a life of the meanest poverty, ignorant of Persian fare, and of Persian delicacies. Let these therefore be left behind in our camp; let there be abundance of food prepared, costly viands, and flowing goblets of wine. With these let us leave the less effective of the troops, and with the rest again retire towards the river. If I err not, the foe will be allured by the sight of our luxurious preparations, and afford us a noble occasion of victory and glory."

CCVIII. The result of the debate was, that Cyrus preferred the sentiments of Cræsus: he therefore returned for answer to Tomyris, that he would advance the space into her dominions which she had proposed. She was faithful to her engagement, and retired accordingly: Cyrus then formally delegated his authority to his son Cambyses; and above all recommended Cræsus to his care, as one whom, if the projected expedition should fail, it would be his interest to distinguish by every possible mark of reverence and honour. He then dismissed them into Persia, and passed the river with his forces.

CCIX. As soon as he had advanced beyond the Araxes into the land of the Massagetæ, he saw in the night this vision: He beheld the eldest son of Hytas-

pes having wings upon his shoulders; one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe. Hystaspes was the son of Arsamis, of the family of the Archæmenides; the name of his eldest son was Darius, a youth of about twenty, who had been left behind in Persia as not yet of age for military service. Cyrus awoke, and revolved the matter in his mind: as it appeared to him of serious importance, he sent for Hystaspes to his presence, and, dismissing his attendants, "Hystaspes," said the king, "I will explain to you my reasons, why I am satisfied beyond all dispute that your son is now engaged in seditious designs against me and my authority. The gods, whose favour I enjoy, disclose to me all those events which menace my security. In the night just passed, I beheld your eldest son having wings upon his shoulders, one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe; from which I draw certain conclusions that he is engaged in acts of treachery against me. Do you therefore return instantly to Persia; and take care, that when I return victorious from my present expedition, your son may give me a satisfactory explanation of his conduct."

CCX. The strong apprehensions of the treachery of Darius induced Cyrus thus to address the father; but the vision in reality imported that the death of Cyrus was at hand, and that Darius should succeed to his power. "Far be it, O king!" said Hystaspes in reply, "from any man of Persian origin to form conspiracies against his sovereign: if such there be, let immediate death be his portion. You have raised the Persians from slavery to freedom; from subjects, you have made them masters: if a vision has informed you that my son designs any thing against you, to you and to your disposal I shall deliver him." Hystaspes, after this interview, passed the Araxes on his return to Persia, fully intending to watch over his son and deliver him to Cyrus.

CCXI. Cyrus advancing a day's march from the Araxes, followed, in all respects, the counsel of Cræsus; and leaving behind him the troops upon which he had less dependence, he returned with his choicest men towards the Araxes. A detachment of about the

third part of the army of the Massagetæ attacked the Persians whom Cyrus had left, and, after a feeble conflict, put them to the sword. When the slaughter ceased, they observed the luxuries which had artfully been prepared; and yielding to the allurements, they indulged themselves in feasting and wine, till drunkenness and sleep overcame them. In this situation the Persians attacked them: several were slain, but the greater part were made prisoners, among whom was Spargapises, their leader, the son of Tomyris.

CCXII. As soon as the queen heard of the defeat of her forces, and the capture of her son, she despatched a messenger to Cyrus with these words: "Cyrus, insatiable as you are of blood, be not too elate with your recent success. When you yourself are overcome with wine, what follies do you not commit? By entering your bodies, it renders your language more insulting. By this poison you have conquered my son, and neither by your prudence nor your valour. I venture a second time to advise what it will be certainly your interest to follow. Restore my son to liberty, and, satisfied with the disgrace you have put upon a third part of the Massagetæ, depart from these realms unhurt. If you will not do this, I swear by the Sun, the great god of the Massagetæ, that, insatiable as you are of blood, I will give you your fill of it."

CCXIII. These words made but little impression upon Cyrus. The son of Tomyris, when, recovering from his inebriated state, he knew the misfortune which had befallen him, entreated Cyrus to release him from his bonds: he obtained his liberty, and immediately destroyed himself.

CCXIV. On the refusal of Cyrus to listen to her counsel, Tomyris collected all her forces: a battle ensued, and of all the conflicts which ever took place amongst barbarians, this was I believe by far the most obstinately disputed. According to such particulars as I have been able to collect, the engagement began by a shower of arrows poured on both sides, from an interval of some distance; when these were all spent, they fought with their swords and spears, and for a long time neither party gained the smallest advantage:

the Massagetæ were at length victorious, the greater part of the Persians were slain; Cyrus himself also fell; and thus terminated a reign of twenty-nine years. When after diligent search his body was found, To-miris directed his head to be thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, and having insulted and mutilated the dead body, exclaimed, "Survivor and conqueror as I am, thou hast ruined my peace by thy successful stratagem against my son; but I will give thee now, as I threatened, thy fill of blood."—This account of the end of Cyrus seems to me most consistent with probability, although there are many other and different relations.

CCXV. The Massagetæ in their clothes and food resemble the Scythians: they fight on horseback and on foot, and are both ways formidable. They have spears, arrows, and battle-axes. They make much use both of gold and brass. Their spears, the points of their arrows, and their battle-axes, are made of brass; their helmets, their belts, and their breast-plates are decorated with gold. They bind also a plate of brass on the chests of their horses, whose reins, bits, and other harness, are plated with gold. They use neither iron nor silver, which indeed their country does not produce, though it abounds with gold and brass.

CCXVI. Concerning their manners we have to observe, that though each man marries but one wife, she is considered as common property. For what the Greeks assert in general of the Scythians, is true only of the Massagetæ. When a man of this country desires to have communication with a woman, he hangs up his quiver before his waggon, and enjoys her without fear of interruption. To speak of the number of years to which they live, is impossible. As soon as any one becomes infirm through age, his assembled relations put him to death, boiling along with the body the flesh of sheep and other animals, upon which they feast: esteeming universally this mode of death the happiest. Of those who die from any disease, they never eat; they bury them in the earth, and esteem their fate a matter to be lamented, because they have

not lived to be sacrificed. They sow no grain, but entirely subsist upon cattle, and upon the fish which the river Araxes abundantly supplies; milk also constitutes a part of their diet. They sacrifice horses to the sun, their only deity, thinking it right to offer the swiftest of mortal animals, to the swiftest of immortal beings.

# HERODOTUS.

## BOOK II.

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### EUTERPE.

#### CHAPTER I.

**CAMBYSES**, the son of Cyrus, by Cassandana, daughter of Phanaspe, succeeded his father. The wife of Cyrus had died before him; he had lamented her loss himself with the sincerest grief, and commanded all his subjects to exhibit public marks of sorrow. Cambyses thus descended, considered the Ionians and Æolians as his slaves by right of inheritance:—He undertook therefore an expedition against Egypt, and assembled an army for this purpose, composed as well of his other subjects, as of those Greeks who acknowledged his authority.

II. Before the reign of their king Psammitichus, the Egyptians esteemed themselves the most ancient of the human race; but when this prince came to the throne he took considerable pains to investigate the truth of this matter; the result was, that they believe the Phrygians more ancient than themselves, and themselves than the rest of mankind. Whilst Psammitichus was engaged in this inquiry, he contrived the following as the most effectual means of removing his perplexity. He procured two children just born, of humble parentage, and gave them to a shepherd to be brought up among his flocks. He was ordered never to speak before them; to place them in a sequestered hut, and at proper intervals to bring them goats, whose milk they might suck whilst he was attending to other employments. His object was to know what word they would first pronounce articulately. The experi-

ment succeeded to his wish ; the shepherd complied with each particular of his directions, and at the end of two years, on his one day opening the door of their apartment, both the children extended their hands towards him, as if in supplication, and pronounced the word *Becos*. It did not at first excite his attention, but on their repeating the same expression, whenever he appeared, he related the circumstance to his master; and at his command, brought the children to his presence. When *Psammitichus* had heard them repeat this same word, he endeavoured to discover among what people it was in use : he found it was the Phrygian name for bread. From seriously revolving this incident, the *Ægyptians* were induced to allow the Phrygians to be of greater antiquity than themselves.

III. That this really happened, I myself heard at Memphis from the priests of Vulcan. The Greeks, among other idle tales, relate, that *Psammitichus* gave the children to be nursed by women whose tongues were previously cut out. During my residence at Memphis, the same priests informed me of many other curious particulars ; but to be better satisfied how well the narrative which I have given on their authority, was supported, I made it my business to visit Thebes and Heliopolis, the inhabitants of which latter place are deemed the most ingenious of all the *Ægyptians*. I shall not think it expedient to say what I heard of their religious customs, more than the names of their deities, believing that all are well informed on this subject. Whatever I may say will be merely what my narrative requires.

IV. In all which they related of human affairs, they were uniform and consistent with each other : they agree that the *Ægyptians* first defined the measure of the year, which they divided into twelve parts ; in this they affirm the stars to have been their guides. Their mode of computation is in my opinion more sagacious than that of the Greeks, who, for the sake of adjusting the seasons accurately, add every third year an intercalary month. The *Ægyptians* divide their year into twelve months, giving to each month thirty days : by

adding five days to every year, they have a uniform revolution of time. The people of this country first invented the names of the twelve gods, and from them the Grecians borrowed them. They were the first also who erected altars, shrines, and temples; and none before them ever engraved the figures of animals on stone; the truth of all which they sufficiently authenticate. The name of their first king was Menes, in whose reign the whole of Egypt, except the province of Thebes, was one extended marsh. No part of all that district, which is now situate beyond the lake Mœris, was then to be seen, the distance between which lake and the sea, is a journey of seven days.

V. The account which they give of their country appears just and reasonable. It must be obvious to the inspection of any one of common sagacity even though he knew it not before, that the part of Egypt to which the Greeks now sail, formerly constituted a part of the bed of the river; this may constantly be observed of all that tract of country beyond the lake, to pass over which would employ a journey of three days; but this the Egyptians themselves do not assert. Of this fact there exists another proof: if from a vessel bound to Egypt, the lead be thrown at the distance of a day's sailing from the shore, it will come up at the depth of eleven fathoms covered with mud, plainly indicating that it was brought there by the water.

VI. According to our limitation of Egypt, which is from the bay of Plinthene to lake Serbonis, near mount Casius, the whole extent of the coast is sixty schœni. It may not be improper to remark, that they who have smaller portions of land, measure them by orgyæ, they who have larger by stadia, such as have considerable tracts by parasangs. The schœnus, which is an Egyptian measure, used in the mensuration of more extensive domains, is equivalent to sixty stadia, as the parasang is to thirty. Agreeably to such mode of computation, the coast of Egypt towards the sea is in length three thousand six hundred stadia.

VII. From hence inland to Heliopolis, the country

of Egypt is a spacious plain, which, though without water, and on a declivity, is a rich and slimy soil. The distance betwixt Heliopolis and the sea, is nearly the same as from the altar of the twelve deities, at Athens, to the shrine of Jupiter Olympus, at Pisa. Whoever will be at the trouble to ascertain this point, will not find the difference to exceed fifteen stadia: the distance from Pisa to Athens wants precisely fifteen stadia of one thousand five hundred, which is the exact number of stadia betwixt Heliopolis and the sea.

VIII. From Heliopolis to the higher parts of Egypt, the country becomes more narrow, and is confined on one part by a long chain of Arabian mountains, which, from the north, stretch south and south-west, in a regular inclination to the Red Sea. The pyramids of Memphis were built with stones drawn from these mountains, which from hence have a winding direction towards the places we have before described. I have been informed, that to travel along this range of hills, from east to west, which is the extreme length of the country, will employ a space of two months: they add, that the eastern parts abound in aromatics. On that side of Egypt which lies towards Libya, there is another steep and sandy mountain, on which certain pyramids have been erected: these extend themselves, like those Arabian hills which stretch towards the south. Thus the country beyond Heliopolis differs exceedingly from the rest of Egypt, and may be passed in a journey of four days. The intermediate space betwixt these mountains is an open plain, in its narrowest part not more in extent than two hundred stadia, measuring from the Arabian to what is called the Libyan mountain, from whence Egypt becomes again wider.

IX. From Heliopolis to Thebes is a voyage of about nine days, or a space of four thousand eight hundred and sixty stadia, equivalent to eighty-one schœni. I have before observed, that the length of the Egyptian coast is three thousand six hundred stadia; from the coast to Thebes is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia; from Thebes to Elephantine eight hundred and twenty.

X. The greater part of the country described above as I was informed by the priests, (and my own observation induced me to be of the same opinion) has been a gradual acquisition to the inhabitants. The country above Memphis, between the hills before mentioned, seems formerly to have been an arm of the sea, and is not unlike the region about Ilium, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the plain of the Meander, if we may be allowed to compare small things with great. It must certainly be allowed, that none of the streams which water the above country, may in depth or in magnitude compare with any one of the five arms of the Nile. I could mention other rivers, which, though inferior to the Nile, have produced many wonderful effects; of these, the river Achelous is by no means the least considerable. This flows through Acarnania, and, losing itself in the sea which washes the Echinades, has connected one half of those islands with the continent.

XI. In Arabia, at no great distance from Egypt, there is a long but narrow bay, diverging from the Erythrean Sea, which I shall more minutely describe. Its extreme length, from the straits where it commences, to where it communicates with the main, will employ a bark with oars a voyage of forty days, but its breadth in the widest parts may be sailed over in half a day. In this bay, the tide daily ebbs and flows; and I conceive that Egypt itself was a gulph formerly of similar appearance, and that, issuing from the Northern Ocean, it extended itself towards Ethiopia; in the same manner the Arabian one so described, rising in the south, flowed towards Syria; and that the two were only separated from each other by a small neck of land. If the Nile should by any means have an issue into the Arabian gulph, in the course of twenty thousand years it might be totally choked up with earth brought there by the passage of the river. I am of opinion, that this might take place even within ten thousand years: why then might not a gulph still greater than this be choked up with mud, in the space of time which has passed before our age, by a stream so great and powerful as the Nile?

XII. All, therefore, that I heard from the natives concerning Egypt, was confirmed by my own observations. I remarked also, that this country gains upon the region which it joins; that shells are found upon the mountains; and that an acrid matter exudes from the soil, which has proved injurious even to the pyramids; and that the only mountain in Egypt which produces sand is the one situate above Memphis. Neither does Egypt possess the smallest resemblance to Arabia, on which it borders, nor to Libya and Syria, for the sea-coast of Arabia is possessed by Syrians. It has a black and crumbling soil, composed of such substances as the river in its course brings down from Ethiopia. The soil of Libya we know to be red and sandy; and the earth, both of Arabia and Syria, is strong and mixed with clay.

XIII. The information of the priests confirmed the account which I have already given of this country. In the reign of Mœris, as soon as the river rose to eight cubits, all the lands above Memphis were overflowed; since which a period of about nine hundred years has elapsed; but at present, unless the river rises to sixteen, or at least fifteen cubits, its waters do not reach those lands.

If the ground should continue to elevate itself as it has hitherto done, by the river's receding from it, the Egyptians below the lake Mœris, and those who inhabit the Delta, will be reduced to the same perplexity which they themselves affirm menaces the Greeks. For as they understand that Greece is fertilized and refreshed by rain, and not by rivers like their own, they predict that the inhabitants, trusting to their usual supplies, will probably suffer the miseries of famine; meaning, that as they have no resource, and only such water as the clouds supply, they must inevitably perish if disappointed of rain at the proper seasons.

XIV. Such being the just sentiments of the Egyptians with respect to Greece, let us inquire how they themselves are circumstanced. If, as I before remarked, the country below Memphis, which is that where the water has receded, should progressively, from the

same cause, continue to extend itself, the Egyptians who inhabit it might have still juster apprehensions of suffering from famine. For in that case, their lands, which are never fertilized by rain, could not receive benefit from the overflowings of the river. The people who possess that district, of all mankind, and even of all the Egyptians, enjoy the fruits of the earth with the smallest labour. They have no occasion for the process nor the instruments of agriculture, which are usual and necessary in other countries. As soon as the river has spread itself over their lands, and returned to its bed, each man scatters the seed over his ground, and waits patiently for the harvest, without any other care than that of turning some swine into the fields to tread down the grain. These are at the proper season again let loose, to shake the corn from the ear, which is then gathered.

XV. If we follow the tradition of the Ionians, it will appear that all which may be properly denominated Egypt, is limited to the Delta. This region, from the watch-tower erected by Perseus, extends along the coast to the salt-pits of Pelusium, to the length of forty schœni. From the coast inland it stretches to the city of Cercasora, where the Nile divides itself into two branches, one of which is termed Pelusium, the other Canopus. Of the rest of Egypt, they affirm that part of it belongs to Libya, and part to Arabia, which if it be true we shall be obliged to conclude that formerly the Egyptians had no country at all. The Delta, as they themselves assert, and as I myself was convinced by observation, is still liable to be overflowed, and was formerly covered with water. Under these circumstances, their curiosity to examine whether they were the most ancient of the human race must seem preposterous, and their experiment of the two children to discover what language they should first speak, was absurd and unnecessary. For my own part I am of opinion, that the Egyptians did not commence their origin with the Delta, but from the first existence of the human race. That as their country became more extensive, some remained in their primitive places of residence, whilst others

migrated to a lower situation. Hence it was that Thebes, comprising a tract of land which is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia in circumference, went formerly under the name of Egypt.

XVI. If my opinion concerning Egypt be true, that of the Ionians must certainly be wrong; if on the contrary the Ionians are right in their conjecture, it will not be difficult to prove that the Greeks, as well as the Ionians, are mistaken in their account of the earth; of which they affirm that Europe, Asia, and Libya constitute the proper division: but if the Delta belong neither to Asia nor Libya, it makes by itself necessarily a fourth and distinct portion of the globe; for, according to the above mode of reasoning, the Nile cannot completely form the division between Asia and Libya; at the extremity of the Delta it is separated into two branches, and the country lying between cannot properly belong either to Asia or Libya.

XVII. Avoiding further comment upon the sentiments of the Ionians, I myself am of opinion, that all the tract of country inhabited by the Egyptians is properly termed Egypt, as the countries inhabited by the Cilicians and Assyrians, are respectively denominated Cilicia and Assyria. I must also think that the land of Egypt alone constitutes the natural and proper limits of Asia and Libya. If we follow the opinion received among the Greeks, we are to consider the whole of Egypt commencing from the cataracts and the city Elephantine, as divided into two parts, with distinct appellations, the one belonging to Libya, the other to Asia; the Nile, beginning at the cataract, flows through the centre of Egypt, and empties itself into the sea. As far as the city Cercasora, it proceeds in one undivided channel, but it there separates itself into three branches: that which directs itself towards the east is called the Pelusian mouth, the Canopic inclines to the west; the third in one continued line meets the point of the Delta, which dividing in two, it finally pours itself into the sea; this arm is equally celebrated, and not inferior in the depth of its waters; it is called the Sebennitic mouth, and this again divides itself into two branches; one is

called the Saitic, and one the Mendesian channel; both empty themselves into the sea. There are two other mouths, the Bolbitinian and the Bucolic; these are not produced by nature, but by art.

XVIII. My opinion concerning the extent of Egypt, receives farther confirmation from the oracle of Ammon, of which however I had no knowledge, till my mind was already satisfied on the subject. The people of Marea and Apis, who inhabit the borders of Libya, thinking themselves to be not Egyptians but Libyans, both of them disliked the religious ceremonies of the country, and that particular restriction which did not permit them to kill heifers for food: they sent therefore to Ammon, declaring that they had no connection with the Egyptians; for they lived beyond the Delta, had their opinions and prejudices as distinct as possible, and wished to have no restriction in the article of food. The deity signified his disapprobation of their conduct, and intimated that every part of that region which was watered by the Nile, was strictly to be denominated Egypt; and that all who dwelt below Elephantine, and drank of this stream, were Egyptians.

XIX. In its more extensive inundations, the Nile does not overflow the Delta only, but part of that territory which is called Libyan, and sometimes the Arabian frontier, and extends about the space of two days journey on each side, speaking on an average. Of the nature of this river I could obtain no certain information from the priests or from others. It was nevertheless my particular desire to know why the Nile, beginning at the summer solstice, continues gradually to rise for the space of one hundred days, after which for the same space it as gradually recedes, remaining throughout the winter, and till the return of the summer solstice, in its former low and quiescent state: but all my inquiries of the inhabitants proved ineffectual, and I was unable to learn why the Nile was thus distinguished in its properties from other streams. I was equally unsuccessful in my wishes to be informed why this river alone wafted no breeze from its surface.

XX. From a desire of gaining a reputation for sa-

gacity, this subject has employed the attention of many among the Greeks. There have been three different modes of explaining it, two of which merit no farther attention than barely to be mentioned: one of them affirms the increase of the Nile to be owing to the Etesian winds, which by blowing in an opposite direction, impede the river's entrance into the sea. But it has often happened that no winds have blown from this quarter, and the phenomenon of the Nile has still been the same. It may also be remarked, that were this the real cause, the same events would happen to other rivers, whose currents are opposed to the Etesian winds, which, indeed, as having a less body of waters, and a weaker current, would be capable of still less resistance: but there are many streams, both in Syria and Libya, none of which exhibit the same appearances with the Nile.

XXI. The second opinion is still less agreeable to reason, though more calculated to excite wonder. This affirms, that the Nile has these qualities, as flowing from the ocean, which entirely surrounds the earth.

XXII. The third opinion, though more plausible in appearance, is still more false in reality. It simply intimates that the body of the Nile is formed from the dissolution of snow, which coming from Libya through the regions of Ethiopia, discharges itself upon Egypt. But how can this river, descending from a very warm to a much colder climate, be possibly composed of melted snow? There are many other reasons concurring to satisfy any person of good understanding, that this opinion is contrary to fact. The first and the strongest argument may be drawn from the winds, which are in these regions invariably hot: it may also be observed, that rain and ice are here entirely unknown. Now if in five days after a fall of snow it must necessarily rain, which is indisputably the case, it follows, that if there were snow in those countries, there would certainly be rain. The third proof is taken from the colour of the natives, who from excessive heat are universally black; moreover, the kites and the swallows are never known to migrate from this country: the cranes also flying from

the severity of a Scythian winter, pass that cold season here. If therefore it snowed although but little in those places through which the Nile passes, or in those where it takes its rise, reason demonstrates that none of the above-mentioned circumstances could possibly happen.

XXIII. The argument which attributes to the ocean these phenomena of the Nile, seems rather to partake of fable, than of truth or sense. For my own part, I know no river of the name of Oceanus; and am inclined to believe that Homer, or some other poet of former times, first invented and afterwards introduced it in his compositions.

XXIV. But as I have mentioned the preceding opinions only to censure and confute them, I may be expected perhaps to give my own sentiments on this subject.—It is my opinion that the Nile overflows in the summer season, because in the winter the sun, driven by the storms from his usual course, ascends into the higher regions of the air above Libya. My reason may be explained without difficulty; for it may be easily supposed, that to whatever region this power more nearly approaches, the rivers and streams of that country will be proportionably dried up and diminished.

XXV. If I were to go more at length into the argument, I should say that the whole is occasioned by the sun's passage through the higher parts of Libya. For as the air is invariably serene, and the heat always tempered by cooling breezes, the sun acts there as it does in the summer season, when his place is in the centre of the heavens. The solar rays absorb the aqueous particles, which their influence forcibly elevates into the higher regions, here they are received, separated, and dispersed by the winds. And it may be observed, that the south and south-west, which are the most common winds in this quarter, are of all others most frequently attended with rain: it does not however appear to me, that the sun remits all the water which he every year absorbs from the Nile; some is probably withheld. As winter disappears, he returns to the middle place of the heavens, and again

by evaporation draws to him the waters of the rivers, all of which are then found considerably increased by the rains, and rising to their extreme heights. But in summer, from the want of rain, and from the attractive power of the sun, they are again reduced: but the Nile is differently circumstanced, it never has the benefit of rains, whilst it is constantly acted upon by the sun; a sufficient reason why it should in the winter season be proportionably lower than in summer. In winter the Nile alone is diminished by the influence of the sun, which in summer attracts the water of the rivers indiscriminately; I impute therefore to the sun the remarkable properties of the Nile.

XXVI. To the same cause is to be ascribed, as I suppose, the state of the air in that country, which from the effect of the sun is always extremely rarefied, so that in the higher parts of Libya there prevails an eternal summer. If it were possible to produce a change in the seasons, and to place the regions of the north in those of the south, and those of the south in the north, the sun, driven from his place by the storms of the north, would doubtless affect the higher parts of Europe, as it now does those of Libya. It would also, I imagine, then act upon the waters of the Ister, as it now does on those of the Nile.

XXVII. That no breeze blows from the surface of the river, may I think be thus accounted for:—Where the air is in a very warm and rarefied state, wind can hardly be expected, this generally rising in places which are cold. Upon this subject I shall attempt no further illustration, but leave it in the state in which it has so long remained.

XXVIII. In all my intercourse with Egyptians, Libyans, and Greeks, I have only met with one person who pretended to have any knowledge of the sources of the Nile. This was the priest who had the care of the sacred treasures in the temple of Minerva, at Sais. He assured me, that on this subject he possessed the most unquestionable intelligence, though his assertions never obtained my serious confidence. He informed me, that betwixt Syene, a city of the Thebais, and Elephantine, there were two mountains,

respectively terminating in an acute summit: the name of the one was Crophî, of the other Mophî. He affirmed, that the sources of the Nile, which were fountains of unfathomable depth, flowed from the centres of these mountains; that one of these streams divided Egypt, and directed its course to the north; the other in like manner flowed towards the south, through Ethiopia. To confirm his assertion, that those springs were unfathomable, he told me, that Psammetichus, sovereign of the country, had ascertained it by experiment; he let down a rope of the length of several thousand orgyæ, but could find no bottom. This was the priest's information, on the truth of which I presume not to determine. If such an experiment was really made, there might perhaps in these springs be certain vortices, occasioned by the reverberation of the water from the mountains, of force sufficient to buoy up the sounding line, and prevent its reaching the bottom.

XXIX. I was not able to procure any other intelligence than the above, though I so far carried my inquiry, that, with the view of making observation, I proceeded myself to Elephantine: of the parts which lie beyond that city, I can only speak from the information of others. Beyond Elephantine this country becomes rugged: in advancing up the stream it will be necessary to hale the vessel on each side by a rope, such as is used for oxen. If this should give way, the impetuosity of the stream forces the vessel violently back again. To this place from Elephantine is a four days' voyage; and here, like the Meander, the Nile becomes winding, and for the space of twelve schœni there is no mode of proceeding but that above mentioned. Afterwards you come to a wide and spacious plain, and meet an island which stands in the centre of the river, and is called Tachompso. The higher part beyond Elephantine is possessed by the Ethiopians, who also inhabit half of this island; the other half belongs to Egyptians. In the vicinity of the island is an extensive lake, near which some Ethiopian shepherds reside; passing over this, you again enter into a channel of the Nile, which flows into the

above lake. Beyond this it is necessary, for the space of about forty days, to travel on the banks of the river, which is here so impeded with rocks, as to render the passage in a vessel impossible. At the end of these forty days the traveller enters a second vessel, and after a voyage of twelve days will arrive at Meroe, a very considerable town, and as some say the capital of the rest of Ethiopia. The inhabitants pay divine honours to Jupiter and Bacchus only, but these they worship with the extremest veneration. At this place is an oracle of Jupiter, whose declarations they permit, with the most implicit obedience, to regulate all their martial expeditions.

XXX. Leaving this city at about the same distance as from hence to Elephantine, your bark will arrive at the country of the Automoli, who are also known by the name of Asmach. This word, translated into our language, signifies those who stand on the left-hand of the sovereign. This people, to the amount of two hundred and forty thousand individuals, were formerly Egyptian warriors, and migrated to these parts of Ethiopia on the following occasion. In the reign of Psammetichus they were by his command stationed in different places; some were appointed for the defence of Elephantine against the Ethiopians, some at the Pelusian Daphne, others were detached to prevent the incursions of the Arabians and Assyrians; and to awe Libya there was a garrison also at Marea: at this present period the military stations are regulated by the Persians, as they were under king Psammetichus; for there are Persian garrisons now stationed at Elephantine and Daphne. When these Egyptians had remained for the space of three years in the above situation, without being relieved, they determined by general consent to revolt from Psammetichus to the Ethiopians; on intelligence of which event they were immediately followed by Psammetichus, who, on his coming up with them, solemnly adjured them not to desert the gods of their country, their wives and their children. One of them is said indecently to have produced the mark of his sex, and to have replied, that wherever they carry that, they

should doubtless obtain both wives and children. On their arrival in Ethiopia, the Automoli devoted themselves to the service of the monarch, who in recompense for their conduct assigned them a certain district of Ethiopia, possessed by a people in rebellion against him, whom he ordered them to expel for that purpose. After the establishment of the Egyptians among them, the tincture which they imbibed of Egyptian manners, had a very sensible effect in civilizing the Ethiopians.

XXXI. Thus, without computing that part of it which flows through Egypt, the course of the Nile is known to the extent of four months journey, partly by land and partly by water; for it will be found on experience, that no one can go in a less time from Elephantine to the Automoli. It is certain that the Nile rises in the west, but beyond the Automoli all is uncertainty, this part of the country being, from the excessive heat, a rude and uncultivated desert.

XXXII. It may not be improper to relate an account which I received from certain Cyrenæans: On an expedition which they made to the oracle of Ammon, they said they had an opportunity of conversing with Etearchus, the sovereign of the country: among other topics the Nile was mentioned, and it was observed, that the particulars of its source were hitherto entirely unknown. Etearchus informed them, that some Nassa-monians once visited his court (these are a people of Africa who inhabit the Syrtes, and a tract of land which from thence extends towards the east); on his making inquiry of them concerning the deserts of Libya, they related the following incident: some young men, who were sons of persons of distinction, had on their coming to man's estate signalized themselves by some extravagance of conduct. Among other things, they deputed by lot five of their companions to explore the solitudes of Libya, and to endeavour at extending their discoveries beyond all preceding adventurers. All that part of Libya towards the Northern Ocean, from Egypt to the promontory of Soloeis, which terminates the third division of the earth, is inhabited by the different nations of the Libyans, that district alone excepted, in possession of the Greeks

and Phœnicians. The remoter parts of Libya beyond the sea-coast, and the people who inhabit its borders, are infested by various beasts of prey; the country yet more distant is a parched and immeasurable desert. The young men left their companions, being well provided with water and with food, and first proceeded through the region which was inhabited; they next came to that which was infested by wild beasts, leaving which they directed their course westward, through the desert. After a journey of many days, over a barren and sandy soil, they at length discerned some trees growing in a plain; these they approached, and seeing fruit upon them, they gathered it. Whilst they were thus employed, some men of dwarfish stature came where they were, seized their persons, and carried them away. They were mutually ignorant of each other's language, but the Nassamonians were conducted over many marshy grounds to a city, in which all the inhabitants were of the same diminutive appearance, and of a black colour. This city was washed by a great river, which flowed from west to east, and abounded in crocodiles.

XXXIII. Such was the conversation of Etearchus, as it was related to me: he added, as the Cyrenæans farther told me, that the Nassamonians returned to their own country, and reported the men whom they had met to be all of them magicians. The river which washed their city, according to the conjecture of Etearchus, which probability confirms, was the Nile. The Nile certainly rises in Libya, which it divides; and if it be allowable to draw conclusions from things which are well known, concerning those which are uncertain and obscure, it takes a similar course with the Ister. This river, commencing at the city of Pyrene, among the Celtæ, flows through the centre of Europe. These Celtæ are found beyond the Columns of Hercules; they border on the Cynesians, the most remote of all the nations who inhabit the western parts of Europe. At that point which is possessed by the Istrians, a Milesian colony, the Ister empties itself into the Euxine.

XXXIV. The sources of the Ister, as it passes

through the countries well inhabited, are sufficiently notorious ; but of the fountains of the Nile, washing as it does the rude and uninhabitable deserts of Libya, no one can speak with precision. All the knowledge which I have been able to procure from the most diligent and extensive inquiries, I have before communicated. Through Egypt it directs its course towards the sea. Opposite to Egypt are the mountains of Cilicia, from whence to Synope, on the Euxine, a good traveller may pass in five days : on the side immediately opposite to Synope, the Ister is poured into the sea. Thus the Nile, as it traverses Libya, may properly enough be compared to the Ister. But on this subject I have said all that I think necessary.

XXXV. Concerning Egypt itself I shall speak more at large ; it claims our admiration beyond all other countries, and the wonderful things which it exhibits, demand a very copious description.—The Egyptians, born under a climate to which no other can be compared, possessing a river different in its nature and properties from all the rivers in the world, are themselves distinguished from the rest of mankind, by the singularity of their institutions and their manners. In this country the women leave to the men the management of the loom in the retirement of the house, whilst they themselves are engaged abroad in the business of commerce. Other nations in weaving shoot the woof above, the Egyptians beneath : here the men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders ; the women stand erect to make water, the men stoop. The offices of nature are performed at home, but they eat their meals publicly in the streets. In vindication of this they assert, that those things which though necessary are unseemly, are best done in private ; but whatever has no shame attached to it, should be done openly. The office of the priesthood is in every instance confined to the men ; there are no priestesses in Egypt, in the service either of male or female deities ; the men are under no obligation to support their parents, if unwilling to do so, but the women are.

XXXVI. The priests of the gods, who in other

places wear their hair long, in Egypt wear it short. It is elsewhere customary, in cases of death, for those who are most nearly related, to cut off their hair in testimony of sorrow; but the Egyptians, who at other times have their heads closely shorn, suffer the hair on this occasion to grow. Other nations will not suffer animals to approach the place of their repast; but in Egypt they live promiscuously with the people. Wheat and barley are common articles of food in other countries; but in Egypt they are mean and disgraceful; the diet here consists principally of spelt, a kind of corn which some call *zea*. Their dough they knead with their feet; whilst in the removal of mud and dung, they do not scruple to use their hands. Male children, except in those places which have borrowed the custom from hence, are left in other nations as nature formed them; in Egypt they are circumcised. The men have two vests, the women only one. In opposition to the customs of other nations, the Egyptians fix the ropes to their sails on the inside. The Greeks, when they write or reckon with counters, go from the left to the right, the Egyptians from right to left; notwithstanding which they persist in affirming that the Greeks write to the left, but they themselves always to the right. They have two sorts of letters, one of which is appropriated to sacred subjects, the other used on common occasions.

XXXVII. Their veneration of their deities is superstitious to an extreme: one of their customs is to drink out of brazen goblets, which it is the universal practice among them to cleanse every day. They are so regardful of neatness, that they wear only linen, and that always newly washed; and it is from the idea of cleanliness, which they regard much beyond comeliness, that they use circumcision. Their priests every third day shave every part of their bodies, to prevent vermin or any species of impurity from adhering to those who are engaged in the service of the gods; the priesthood is also confined to one particular mode of dress; they have one vest of linen, and their shoes are made of the byblus; they wash themselves in cold water twice in the course of the day, and as

often in the night ; it would indeed be difficult to enumerate their religious ceremonies, all of which they practise with superstitious exactness. The sacred ministers possess in return many and great advantages : they are not obliged to consume any part of their domestic property ; each has a portion of the sacred viands ready dressed, assigned him, besides a large and daily allowance of beef and of geese ; they have also wine, but are not permitted to feed on fish.

Beans are sown in no part of Egypt, neither will the inhabitants eat them, either boiled or raw ; the priests will not even look at this pulse, esteeming it exceedingly unclean. Every god has several attendant priests, and one of superior dignity, who presides over the rest ; when any one dies he is succeeded by his son.

XXXVIII. They esteem bulls as sacred to Epaphus, which previously to sacrifice, are thus carefully examined : if they can but discover a single black hair in his body, he is deemed impure ; for this purpose a priest is particularly appointed, who examines the animal as it stands, and as reclined on its back ; its tongue is also drawn out, and he observes whether it be free from those blemishes which are specified in their sacred books, and of which I shall speak hereafter. The tail also undergoes examination, every hair of which must grow in its natural and proper form : if in all these instances the bull appears to be unblemished, the priest fastens the byblus round his horns ; he then applies a preparation of earth, which receives the impression of his seal, and the animal is led away ; this seal is of so great importance, that to sacrifice a beast which has it not, is deemed a capital offence.

XXXIX. I proceed to describe their mode of sacrifice :—Having led the animal destined and marked for the purpose to the altar, they kindle a fire ; a libation of wine is poured upon the altar ; the god is solemnly invoked, and the victim then is killed ; they afterwards cut off his head, and take the skin from the carcass ; upon the head, they heap many impre-

cations : such as have a market-place at hand carry it there, and sell it to the Grecian traders ; if they have not this opportunity, they throw it into the river. They devote the head, by wishing that whatever evil menaces those who sacrifice, or Egypt in general, it may fall upon that head. This ceremony respecting the head of the animal, and this mode of pouring a libation of wine upon the altar, is indiscriminately observed by all the Egyptians : in consequence of the above, no Egyptian will on any account eat of the head of a beast. As to the examination of the victims, and their ceremony of burning them, they have different methods, as their different occasions of sacrifice require.

XL. Of that goddess whom they esteem the first of all, their deities, and in whose honour their greatest festival is celebrated, I shall now make more particular mention. After the previous ceremony of prayers, they sacrifice an ox; they then strip off the skin, and take out the intestines, leaving the fat and the paunch; they afterwards cut off the legs, the shoulders, the neck, and the extremities of the loin; the rest of the body is stuffed with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, and various aromatics; after this process they burn it, pouring upon the flame a large quantity of oil: whilst the victim is burning, the spectators flagellate themselves, having fasted before the ceremony; the whole is completed by their feasting on the residue of the sacrifice.

XLI. All the Egyptians sacrifice bulls without blemish, and calves; the females are sacred to Isis, and may not be used for this purpose. This divinity is represented under the form of a woman, and as the Greeks paint Io, with horns upon her head; for this reason the Egyptians venerate cows far beyond all other cattle, neither will any man or woman among them kiss a Grecian, nor use a knife, or spit, or any domestic utensil belonging to a Greek, nor will they eat even the flesh of such beasts as by their law are pure, if it has been cut with a Grecian knife. If any of these cattle die, they thus dispose of their carcasses: the females are thrown into the river, the males they

bury in the vicinity of the city, and by way of mark, one and sometimes both of the horns are left projecting from the ground: they remain thus a stated time, and till they begin to putrefy, when a vessel appointed for this particular purpose is despatched from Proso-pitis, an island of the Delta, nine schœni in extent, and containing several cities. Atarbechis, one of these cities, in which is a temple of Venus, provides the vessels for this purpose, which are sent to the different parts of Egypt: these collect and transport the bones of the animals, which are all buried in one appointed place. This law and custom extends to whatever cattle may happen to die, as the Egyptians themselves put none to death.

XLII. Those who worship in the temple of the Theban Jupiter, or belong to the district of Thebes, abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats. The same deities receive in Egypt different forms of worship; the ceremonies of Isis and of Osiris, who they say is no other than the Grecian Bacchus, are alone unvaried; in the temple of Mendes, and in the whole Mendesian district, goats are preserved and sheep sacrificed. Why the Thebans, and all who are under their influence, abstain from sheep, is thus explained: Jupiter, they say, was long averse to the earnest solicitations of Hercules to see his person; but in consequence of his repeated importunity, the god, in compliance, used the following artifice: he cut off the head of a ram, and covering himself with its skin, showed himself in that form to Hercules: from this incident, the Egyptian statues of Jupiter, represent that divinity with the head of a ram. This custom was borrowed of the Egyptians by the Ammonians, who are composed partly of Egyptians and partly of Ethiopians, and whose dialect is formed promiscuously of both those languages. The Egyptians call Jupiter, Ammon, and I should think this was the reason why the above people named themselves Ammonians. From this however it is, that the Thebans esteem the ram as sacred, and, except on the annual festival of Jupiter, never put one to death. Upon this solemnity they kill a ram, and placing its skin on the image of

the god, they introduce before it a figure of Hercules; the assembly afterwards beat the ram, and conclude the ceremony, by enclosing the body in a sacred chest.

XLIII. This Hercules, as I have been informed, is one of the twelve great gods, but of the Grecian Hercules, I could in no part of Egypt procure any knowledge; that this name was never borrowed by Egypt from Greece, but certainly communicated by the Egyptians to the Greeks, and to those in particular who assign it to the son of Amphitryon, is among other arguments sufficiently evident from this, that both the reputed parents of this Hercules, Amphitryon and Alcmena, were of Egyptian origin. The Egyptians also disclaim all knowledge both of Neptune and the Dioscuri, neither of whom are admitted among the number of their gods: if they had ever borrowed the name of a deity from Greece, the remembrance of these, so far from being less, must have been stronger than of any other; for if they then made voyages, and if, as I have great reason to believe, there were at that time Greek sailors, they would rather have been acquainted with the names of the other deities, than with that of Hercules. Hercules is certainly one of the most ancient deities of Egypt; and as they themselves affirm, is one of the twelve, who were produced from the eight gods, seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

XLIV. From my great desire to obtain information on this subject, I made a voyage to Tyre, in Phœnicia, where is a temple of Hercules held in great veneration. Among the various offerings which enriched and adorned it, I saw two pillars; the one was of the purest gold, the other of emerald, which in the night diffused an extraordinary splendor. I inquired of the priests how long this temple had been erected; but I found that they also differed in their relation from the Greeks. This temple, as they affirmed, had been standing ever since the first building of the city, a period of two thousand three hundred years. I saw also at Tyre another temple consecrated to the Thasian Hercules. At Thasus, which I visited, I found a temple erected to this deity by the Phœnicians, who built

Thesus while they were engaged in search of Europa: an event which happened five generations before Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, was known in Greece. From all these circumstances I was convinced that Hercules must be a very ancient deity. Such therefore of the Greeks as have erected two temples to the deity of this name, have, in my opinion, acted very wisely: to the Olympian Hercules they offer sacrifice as to an immortal being; to the other they pay the rites of a hero.

XLV. Among the many preposterous fables current in Greece, the one concerning Hercules is not the least ridiculous. He arrived, they say, in Egypt, where the inhabitants bound him with the sacred fillet, and the usual ornaments of a victim, and made preparations to sacrifice him to Jupiter. For a while he restrained himself, but upon his being conducted with the usual solemnities to the altar, he exerted his strength, and put all his opponents to death. This story of the Greeks demonstrates the extremest ignorance of Egyptian manners; for how can it be reasonable to suppose, that a people will offer human beings in sacrifice, who will not for this purpose destroy even animals, except swine, bulls, male calves without blemish, and geese? Or how could Hercules, an individual, and as they themselves affirm, a mortal, be able to destroy many thousands of men?—I hope, however, that what I have introduced on this subject, will give no offence either to gods or heroes.

XLVI. The Mendesians, of whom I have before spoken, refuse to sacrifice goats of either sex, out of reverence to Pan, whom their traditions assert to be one of the eight deities, whose existence preceded that of the twelve. Like the Greeks, they always represent Pan in his images, with the countenance of the she-goat and the legs of the male; not that they believe this has any resemblance to his person, or that he in any respect differs from the rest of the deities: the real motive which they assign for this custom I do not choose to relate. The veneration of the Mendesians for these animals, and for the males in particular, is equally great and universal: this is also extended to

goat-herds. There is one he-goat more particularly honoured than the rest, whose death is seriously lamented by the whole district of the Mendesiensians. In the Egyptian language the word Mendes is used in common for Pan and for a goat. It happened in this country, within my remembrance, and was indeed universally notorious, that a goat had indecent and public communication with a woman.

XLVII. The Egyptians regard the hog as an unclean animal, and if they casually touch one they immediately plunge themselves, clothes and all, into the water. This prejudice operates to the exclusion of all swine-herds, although natives of Egypt, from the temples: with people of this description, a connection by marriage is studiously avoided, and they are reduced to the necessity of intermarrying among those of their own profession. The only deities to whom the Egyptians offer swine, are Bacchus and Luna; to these they sacrifice them when the moon is at the full, after which they eat the flesh. Why they offer swine at this particular time, and at no other, the Egyptians have a tradition among themselves, which delicacy forbids me to explain. The following is the mode in which they sacrifice this animal to Luna: as soon as it is killed, they cut off the extremity of the tail, which, with the spleen and the fat, they enclose in the caul, and burn; upon the remainder, which at any other time they would disdain, they feast at the full moon, when the sacrifice is performed. They who are poor make figures of swine with meal, which having first baked, they offer on the altar.

XLVIII. On the day of the feast of Bacchus, at the hour of supper, every person, before the door of his house, offers a hog in sacrifice. The swine-herd of whom they purchased it, is afterwards at liberty to take it away. Except this sacrifice of the swine, the Egyptians celebrate the feast of Bacchus in the same manner as the Greeks. Instead of the phalli, they have contrived certain figures of about a cubit in length; the private members of which are made to move. These the women carry about the streets and villages, and the member which distinguishes the sex,

being almost as large as the rest of the body, with these, and preceded by a piper, they sing in a long procession, the praises of Bacchus. Why this member is so disproportionably large, and why they give a motion to it alone, they assign a sacred and mysterious reason.

XLIX. I am of opinion, that Melampus, son of Amytheon, was acquainted with this ceremony. Melampus first taught the Greeks the name and the sacrifice of Bacchus, and introduced the procession of the phalli; the mysterious purport of which he did not sufficiently explain; but since his time it has received from different sages sufficient illustration. It is unquestionable, that the use of the phalli in the sacrifice of Bacchus, with the other ceremonies which the Greeks now know and practise, were first taught them by Melampus. I therefore, without hesitation, pronounce him to have been a man of wisdom, and of skill in the art of divination. Instructed by the Egyptians in various ceremonies, and particularly in those which relate to Bacchus, with some few trifling changes, he brought them into Greece. I can by no means impute to accident, the resemblance which exists in the rites of Bacchus in Egypt, and in Greece; in this case they would not have differed so essentially from the Grecian manners, and they might have been traced to more remote antiquity; neither will I affirm that these, or that any other religious ceremonies, were borrowed of Greece by the Egyptians; I rather think that Melampus learned all these particulars which relate to the worship of Bacchus, from Cadmus, and his Tyrian companions, when they came from Phœnicia to what is now called Bœotia.

L. Egypt has certainly communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods; that they are of barbarian origin, I am convinced by my different researches. The names of Neptune and the Dioscuri I mentioned before; with these, if we except Juno, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the other deities have always been familiar in Egypt. In this instance I do but repeat the opinions of the Egyptians. Those names of which they disclaim

any knowledge are all, except Neptune, of Pelasgian derivation : for their acquaintance with this deity, they are indebted to Libya, where indeed he was first of all known, and has always been greatly honoured. The Egyptians do not pay any religious ceremonies to heroes.

LI. With the above, the Greeks have derived many other circumstances of religious worship from Egypt, which I shall hereafter relate ; they did not however learn from hence, but from the Pelasgi, to construct the figure of Mercury with an erect priapus, which custom was first introduced by the Athenians, and communicated from them to others. At that period the Athenians were ranked among the nations of Greece, and had the Pelasgians for their neighbours ; from which incident, this people also began to be esteemed as Greeks. Of the truth of this, whoever has been initiated in the Cabirian mysteries, which the Samothracians use, and which they learned of the Pelasgi, will be necessarily convinced ; for the Pelasgians, before they lived near the Athenians, formerly inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries. By them the Athenians were first of all instructed to make the figure of Mercury with an erect priapus. For this the Pelasgians have a sacred tradition, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries.

LII. The Pelasgians, as I was informed at Dodona, formerly offered all things indiscriminately to the gods. They distinguished them by no name or surname, for they were hitherto unacquainted with either ; but they called them gods, which by its etymology means disposers, from observing the orderly disposition and distribution of the various parts of the universe. They learned, but not till a late period, the names of the divinities from the Egyptians, and Bacchus was the last whom they knew. Upon this subject they afterwards consulted the oracle of Dodona, by far the most ancient oracle of Greece, and at the period of which we speak, the only one. They desired to know whether they might with propriety adopt the names which they had learned of the barbarians, and were answered that

they might; they have accordingly used them ever since in their rites of sacrifice, and from the Pelasgi, they were communicated to the Greeks.

LIII. Of the origin of each deity, whether they have all of them always existed, as also of their form, their knowledge is very recent indeed. The invention of the Grecian theogony, the names, the honours, the forms, and the functions of the deities, may with propriety be ascribed to Hesiod and to Homer, who I believe lived four hundred years, and not more, before myself. If I may give my opinion, the poets who are reported to have been before these, were certainly after them. What I say of the names and origin of the gods, is on the authority of the priests of Dodona; of Hesiod and of Homer I speak my own sentiments.

LIV. Of the two oracles of Greece and Libya, the Egyptians speak as follows: I was told by the ministers of the Theban Jupiter, that the Phœnicians had violently carried off from Thebes two priestesses, one of whom had been sold into Libya, the other into Greece; they added, that the commencement of the above oracles must be assigned to these two women. On my requesting to know their authority for these assertions, they answered, that after a long and ineffectual search after these priestesses, they had finally learned what they had told me.

LV. I have related the intelligence which I gained from the priests at Thebes: the priestesses of Dodona assert, that two black pigeons flew from Thebes in Egypt, one of which settled in Libya, the other among themselves; which latter, resting on the branch of a beech-tree, declared with a human voice, that here by divine appointment was to be an oracle of Jove. The inhabitants, fully impressed that this was a divine communication, instantly complied with the injunction. The dove which flew to Libya in like manner commanded the people to fix there an oracle of Ammon, which also is an oracle of Jupiter. Such was the information I received from the priestesses of Dodona, the eldest of whom was called Promeneia, the second Timarete, the youngest Nicandre; the other ministers

employed in the service of the temple agreed with these in every particular.

LVI. My opinion of the matter is this: If the Phœnicians did in reality carry away these two priestesses, and sell one to Libya, the other to Greece, this latter must have been carried to the Thespreti, which country, though part of what is now termed Greece, was formerly called Pelasgia. That, although in a state of servitude, she erected, under the shade of a beech-tree, a sacred edifice to Jupiter, which she might very naturally be prompted to do, from the remembrance of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, whence she was taken. Thus she instituted the oracle, and having learned the Greek language, might probably relate that by the same Phœnicians her sister was sold for a slave to Libya.

LVII. The name of doves was probably given them because, being strangers, the sound of their voices might to the people of Dodona, seem to resemble the tone of those birds. When the woman, having learned the language, delivered her thoughts in words which were generally understood, the dove might be said to have spoke with a human voice. Before she had thus accomplished herself, her voice might appear like that of a dove. It certainly cannot be supposed that a dove should speak with a human voice; and the circumstance of her being black, explains to us her Egyptian origin.

LVIII. The two oracles of Egyptian Thebes and of Dodona, have an entire resemblance to each other. The art of divination, as now practised in our temples, is thus derived from Egypt; at least the Egyptians were the first who introduced the sacred festivals, processions, and supplications, and from them the Greeks were instructed. It is to me a sufficient testimony of this, that these religious ceremonies are in Greece but of modern date, whereas in Egypt they have been in use from the remotest antiquity.

LIX. In the course of the year, the Egyptians celebrate various public festivals; but the festival in honour of Diana, at the city Bubastis, is the first in

dignity and importance. The second is held in honour of Isis, at the city Busiris, which is situated in the middle of the Delta, and contains the largest temple of that goddess. Isis is called in the Greek tongue, Demeter or Ceres. The solemnities of Minerva, observed at Sais, are the third in consequence; the fourth are at Heliopolis, and sacred to the sun; the fifth are those of Latona, at Buto; the next those of Mars, solemnized at Papremis.

LX. They who meet to celebrate the festival at Bubastis embark in vessels a great number of men and women promiscuously mixed. During the passage some of the women strike their tabors, accompanied by the men playing on flutes. The rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought to shore: of the women some continue their instrumental music, others call aloud to the females of the place, provoke them by injurious language, dance about, and indecently throw aside their garments. This they do at every place near which they pass. On their arrival at Bubastis, the feast commences, by the sacrifice of many victims, and upon this occasion a greater quantity of wine is consumed than in all the rest of the year. The natives report, that at this solemnity seven hundred thousand men and women assemble, not to mention children.

LXI. I have before related in what manner the rites of Isis are celebrated at Busiris. After the ceremonies of sacrifice the whole assembly, to the amount of many thousands, flagellate themselves, but in whose honour they do this I am not at liberty to disclose. The Carians of Egypt treat themselves at this solemnity with still more severity: for they cut themselves in the face with swords, and thus distinguish themselves from the Egyptian natives.

LXII. At the sacrifice solemnized at Sais, the assembly is held by night; they suspend before their houses in the open air, lamps which are filled with oil mixed with salt; a wick floats at the top, which will burn all night: the feast itself is called the feast of lamps. Such of the Egyptians as do not attend the ceremony

think themselves obliged to observe the evening of the festival, and in like manner burn lamps before their houses: thus on this night, not Sais only, but all Egypt is illuminated. A religious motive is assigned for the festival itself, and for the illuminations by which it is distinguished.

LXIII. At Heliopolis and Buto, sacrifices alone are offered, but at Papremis, as at other places, in addition to the offering of victims, other religious ceremonies are observed. At the close of the day, a small number of priests crowd round the statue of Mars; a greater number, armed with clubs, place themselves at the entrance of the temple; opposite to these, may be seen more than a thousand men tumultuously assembled, with clubs also in their hands, to perform their religious vows. The day before the festival they remove the statue of the god, which is kept in a small case decorated with gold, to a different apartment. The priests attendant on the statue place it, together with its case, on a four-wheeled carriage, and begin to draw it along. Those at the entrance of the temple endeavour to prevent its admission: but the votaries above mentioned come to the succour of the god, and a combat ensues between the two parties, in which many heads are broken, and I should suppose many lives lost, though this the Egyptians positively deny.

LXIV. The motive for this ceremony is thus explained by the natives of the country:—This temple, they say, was the residence of the mother of Mars: the god himself, who had been brought up at a distance from his parent, on his arrival at man's estate, came hither to visit his mother. The attendants, who had never seen him before, not only refused to admit him, but roughly drove him from the place. Obtaining proper assistance, he returned, severely chastised those who had opposed him, and obtained admission to his mother. From this circumstance the above mode of fighting was ever after practised on the festival of Mars: and these people were also the first who made it a point of religion not to communicate carnally with a woman in a temple, nor enter any

consecrated place after the venerari act, without having first washed. Except the Egyptians and the Greeks, all other nations without scruple connect themselves with women in their temples, nor think it necessary to wash themselves after such connection, previous to their paying their devotions. In this instance they rank man indiscriminately with other animals; for observing that birds as well as beasts copulate in shrines and temples, they conclude that it cannot be offensive to the deity. Such a mode of reasoning does not by any means obtain my approbation.

LXV. The superstition of the Egyptians is conspicuous in various instances, but in this more particularly: notwithstanding the vicinity of their country to Libya, the number of beasts is comparatively small, but all of them, both those which are wild and those which are domestic, are regarded as sacred. If I were to explain the reason of this prejudice, I should be led to the discussion of those sacred subjects, which I particularly wish to avoid, and which but from necessity, I should not have discussed so fully as I have. Their laws compel them to cherish animals; a certain number of men and women are appointed to this office, which is esteemed so honourable, that it descends in succession from father to son. In the presence of these animals, the inhabitants of the cities perform their vows. They address themselves as supplicants to the divinity, who is supposed to be represented by the animal in whose presence they are; they then cut off their children's hair, sometimes the whole of it, sometimes half, at other times only a third part; this they weigh in a balance against a piece of silver; as soon as the silver preponderates, they give it to the woman who keeps the beast, she in return feeds the beast with pieces of fish, which is their constant food. It is a capital offence designedly to kill any one of these animals; to destroy one accidentally, is punished by a fine, determined by the priests; but whoever, however involuntarily, kills an ibis or a hawk cannot by any means escape death.

**LXVI.** The number of domestic animals in Egypt is very great, and would be much greater if the increase of cats were not thus prevented: The female cats, when delivered of their young, carefully avoid the company of the males, who to obtain a second commerce with them, contrive and execute this stratagem: they steal the young from the mother, which they destroy, but do not eat. This animal, which is very fond of its young, from its desire to have more, again covets the company of the male. In every accident of fire, the cats seem to be actuated by some supernatural impulse: for the Egyptians surrounding the place which is burning, appear to be occupied with no thought but that of preserving their cats. These, however, by stealing between the legs of the spectators, or by leaping over their heads, endeavour to dart into the flames. This circumstance, whenever it happens, diffuses universal sorrow. In whatever family a cat by accident happens to die, every individual cuts off his eye-brows; but on the death of a dog they shave their heads and every part of their bodies.

**LXVII.** The cats when dead are carried to sacred buildings, and after being salted are buried in the city Bubastis. Of the canine species, the females are buried in consecrated chests, wherever they may happen to die, which ceremony is also observed with respect to the ichneumons. The shrew-mice and hawks are always removed to Buto; the ibis to Her-mopolis; the bears, an animal rarely seen in Egypt, and the wolves, which are not much bigger than foxes, are buried in whatever place they die.

**LXVIII.** I proceed now to describe the nature of the crocodile, which during the four severer months of winter eats nothing; it is a quadruped, but amphibious; it is also oviparous, and deposits its eggs in the sand; the greater part of the day it spends on shore, but all the night in the water, as being warmer than the external air, whose cold is increased by the dew. No animal that I have seen or known, from being at first so remarkably diminutive, grows to so vast a size. The eggs are not larger than those of geese: on

leaving the shell the young is proportionably small, but when arrived at its full size it is sometimes more than seventeen cubits in length: it has eyes like a hog, teeth large and prominent, in proportion to the dimensions of its body; but, unlike all other animals, it has no tongue. It is further and most singularly distinguished, by only moving its upper jaw. Its feet are armed with strong fangs; the skin is protected by hard scales, regularly divided. In the open air its sight is remarkably acute, but it cannot see at all in the water: living in the water, its throat is always full of leeches; beasts and birds universally avoid it, the trochilus alone excepted, which, from a sense of gratitude, it treats with kindness. When the crocodile leaves the water, it reclines itself on the sand, and generally towards the west, with its mouth open; the trochilus entering its throat destroys the leeches; in acknowledgment for which service, it never does the trochilus injury.

LXIX. This animal, by many of the Egyptians, is esteemed sacred, by others it is treated as an enemy. They who live near Thebes, and the lake Moeris, hold the crocodile in religious veneration: they select one, which they render tame and docile, suspending golden ornaments from its ears, and sometimes gems of value; the fore feet are secured by a chain. They feed it with the flesh of the sacred victims, and with other appointed food. While it lives they treat it with unceasing attention, and when it dies, it is first embalmed, and afterwards deposited in a sacred chest. They who live in or near Elephantine, so far from considering these beasts as sacred, make them an article of food: they call them not crocodiles, but champsæ. The name of crocodiles was first imposed by the Ionians, from their resemblance to lizards so named by them, which are produced in the hedges.

LXX. Among the various methods that are used to take the crocodile, I shall only relate one which deserves most attention: they fix a piece of swine's flesh on a hook, and suffer it to float into the middle of the stream; on the banks they have a live hog,

which they beat till it cries out. The crocodile hearing the noise makes towards it, and in the way encounters and devours the bait. They then draw it on shore, and the first thing they do is to fill its eyes with clay; it is thus easily manageable, which it otherwise would not be.

LXXI. The hippopotamus is esteemed sacred in the district of Papremis, but in no other part of Egypt. I shall describe its nature and properties: it is a quadruped, its feet are cloven, and it has hoofs like an ox; the nose is short, but turned up, the teeth prominent; it resembles a horse in its mane, its tail, and its voice: it is of the size of a very large ox, and has a skin so remarkably thick, that when dried it is made into offensive weapons.

LXXII. The Nile also produces otters, which the Egyptians venerate, as they also do the fish called lepidotus, and the eel: these are sacred to the Nile, as among the birds is one called the chenalopex.

LXXIII. They have also another sacred bird, which, except in a picture, I have never seen: it is called the phoenix. It is very uncommon even among themselves; for according to the Heliopolitans, it comes there but once in the course of five hundred years, and then only at the decease of the parent bird. If it bear any resemblance to its picture, the wings are partly of a gold and partly of a crimson colour, and its form and size are perfectly like the eagle. They relate one thing of it which surpasses all credibility: they say that it comes from Arabia to the temple of the sun, bearing the dead body of its parent, enclosed in myrrh, which it buries. It makes a ball of myrrh shaped like an egg, as large as it is able to carry, which it proves by experiment. This done, it excavates the mass, into which it introduces the body of the dead bird; it again closes the aperture with myrrh, and the whole becomes the same weight as when composed entirely of myrrh; it then proceeds to Egypt to the temple of the sun.

LXXIV. In the vicinity of Thebes there are also sacred serpents not at all troublesome to men: they

are very small, but have two horns on the top of the head. When they die, they are buried in the temple of Jupiter, to whom they are said to belong.

LXXV. There is a place in Arabia, near the city Butos, which I visited for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the winged serpent. I here saw a prodigious quantity of serpent's bones and ribs placed on heaps of different heights. The place itself is a strait betwixt two mountains, it opens upon a wide plain which communicates with Egypt. They affirm, that in the commencement of every spring, these winged serpents fly from Arabia towards Egypt, but that the ibis here meets and destroys them. The Arabians say, that in acknowledgment of this service, the Egyptians hold the ibis in great reverence, which is not contradicted by that people.

LXXVI. One species of the ibis is entirely black, its beak remarkably crooked, its legs as large as those of a crane, and in size it resembles the crex: this is the enemy of the serpents. The second species is the most common: these have the head and the whole of the neck naked; the plumage is white, except that on the head, the neck, the extremities of the wings, and the tail; these are of a deep black colour, but the legs and the beak resemble in all respects those of the other species. The form of the flying and of the aquatic serpents is the same: the wings of the former are not feathered, but entirely like those of the bats.—And thus I have finished my account of the sacred animals.

LXXVII. Those Egyptians who live in the cultivated parts of the country, are of all whom I have seen the most ingenious, being attentive to the improvement of the memory beyond the rest of mankind. To give some idea of their mode of life: for three days successively in every month they use purges, vomits, and clysters; this they do out of attention to their health, being persuaded that the diseases of the body are occasioned by the different elements received as food. Besides this, we may venture to assert, that after the Africans there is no people in health and constitution to be compared with

the Egyptians. To this advantage the climate, which is here subject to no variation, may essentially contribute: changes of all kinds, and those in particular of the seasons, promote and occasion the maladies of the body. To their bread, which they make with spelt, they give the name of *cyllestis*; they have no vines in the country, but they drink a liquor fermented from barley; they live principally on fish, either salted or dried in the sun: they eat also quails, ducks, and some smaller birds, without other preparation than first salting them; but they roast and boil such other birds and fishes as they have, excepting those which are preserved for sacred purposes.

LXXVIII. At the entertainments of the rich, just as the company is about to rise from the repast, a small coffin is carried round, containing a perfect representation of a dead body: it is in size sometimes of one but never of more than two cubits, and as it is shown to the guests in rotation, the bearer exclaims, "Cast your eyes on this figure; after death you yourself will resemble it: drink then and be happy."—Such are the customs they observe at entertainments.

LXXIX. They contentedly adhere to the customs of their ancestors, and are averse to foreign manners. Among other things which claim our approbation, they have a song, which is also used in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and other places, where it is differently named. Of all the things which astonished me in Egypt, nothing more perplexed me than my curiosity to know whence the Egyptians learned this song, so entirely resembling the *Linus* of the Greeks; it is of the remotest antiquity among them, and they call it *Maneros*. They have a tradition that *Maneros* was the only son of their first monarch; and that having prematurely died, they instituted these melancholy strains in his honour, constituting their first, and in earlier times, their only song.

LXXX. The Egyptians surpass all the Greeks, the Lacedæmonians excepted, in the reverence which they pay to age: if a young person meet his senior, he instantly turns aside to make way for him; if a senior enter an apartment, the youth always rise from

their seats; this ceremony is observed by no other of the Greeks. When the Egyptians meet they do not speak, but make a profound reverence, bowing with the hand down to the knee.

LXXXI. Their habit, which they call calasiris, is made of linen, and fringed at the bottom; over this they throw a kind of shawl made of white wool, but in these vests of wool they are forbidden by their religion either to be buried or to enter any sacred edifice; this is a peculiarity of those ceremonies which are called Orphic and Pythagorean: whoever has been initiated in these mysteries can never be interred in a vest of wool, for which a sacred reason is assigned.

LXXXII. Of the Egyptians it is farther memorable, that they first imagined what month or day was to be consecrated to each deity; they also from observing the days of nativity, venture to predict the particular circumstances of a man's life and death: this is done by the poets of Greece, but the Egyptians have certainly discovered more things that are wonderful than all the rest of mankind. Whenever any prodigy occurs, they commit the particulars to writing, and mark the events which follow it: if they afterwards observe any similar incident, they conclude that the result will be similar also.

LXXXIII. The art of divination in Egypt is confined to certain of their deities. There are in this country oracles of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerva and Diana, of Mars, and of Jupiter; but the oracle of Latona at Buto is held in greater estimation than any of the rest: the oracular communication is regulated by no fixed system, but is differently obtained in different places.

LXXXIV. The art of medicine in Egypt is thus exercised: one physician is confined to one disease; there are of course a great number who practise this art; some attend to disorders of the eyes, others to those of the head; some take care of the teeth, others are conversant with all diseases of the bowels; whilst many attend to the cure of maladies which are less conspicuous.

**LXXXV.** With respect to their funerals and ceremonies of mourning; whenever a man of any importance dies, the females of his family, disfiguring their heads and faces with dirt, leave the corpse in the house, and run publicly about, accompanied by their female relations, with their garments in disorder, their breasts exposed, and beating themselves severely; the men on their parts do the same, after which the body is carried to the embalmers.

**LXXXVI.** There are certain persons appointed by law to the exercise of this profession. When a dead body is brought to them, they exhibit to the friends of the deceased, different models highly finished in wood. The most perfect of these they say resembles one whom I do not think it religious to name in such a matter; the second is of less price, and inferior in point of execution; another is still more mean; they then inquire after which model the deceased shall be represented: when the price is determined, the relations retire, and the embalmers thus proceed: In the most perfect specimens of their art, they draw the brain through the nostrils, partly with a piece of crooked iron, and partly by the infusion of drugs; they then with an Ethiopian stone make an incision in the side, through which they extract the intestines; these they cleanse thoroughly, washing them with palm-wine, and afterwards covering them with pounded aromatics: they then fill the body with powder of pure myrrh, cassia, and other perfumes, except frankincense. Having sown up the body it is covered with nitre, for the space of seventy days, which time they may not exceed; at the end of this period it is washed, closely wrapped in bandages of cotton, dipped in a gum which the Egyptians use as glue: it is then returned to the relations, who enclose the body in a case of wood, made to resemble a human figure, and place it against the wall in the repository of their dead. The above is the most costly mode of embalming.

**LXXXVII.** They who wish to be less expensive, adopt the following method: they neither draw out the intestines, nor make any incision in the dead body, but inject an unguent made from the cedar;

after taking proper means to secure the injected oil within the body, it is covered with nitre for the time above specified: on the last day they withdraw the liquor before introduced, which brings with it all the bowels and intestines; the nitre eats away the flesh, and the skin and bones only remain: the body is returned in this state, and no further care taken concerning it.

LXXXIX. There is a third mode of embalming appropriated to the poor. A particular kind of ablutio is made to pass through the body, which is afterwards left in nitre for the seventy days, and then returned.

LXXXIX. The wives of men of rank, and such females as have been distinguished by their beauty or importance, are not immediately on their decease delivered to the embalmers: they are usually kept for three or four days, which is done to prevent any indecency being offered to their persons. An instance once occurred of an embalmer's gratifying his lust on the body of a female lately dead: the crime was divulged by a fellow artist.

XC. If an Egyptian or a foreigner be found, either destroyed by a crocodile or drowned in the water, the city nearest which the body is discovered, is obliged to embalm and pay it every respectful attention, and afterwards deposit it in some consecrated place; no friend or relation is suffered to interfere, the whole process is conducted by the priests of the Nile, who bury it themselves with a respect to which a lifeless corpse would hardly seem entitled.

XCI. To the customs of Greece they express aversion, and to say the truth to those of all other nations. This remark applies, with only one exception, to every part of Egypt. Chemmis is a place of considerable note in the Thebaid, it is near Neapolis, and remarkable for a temple of Perseus the son of Danae. This temple is of a square figure, and surrounded with palm-trees. The vestibule, which is very spacious, is constructed of stone, and on the summit are placed two large marble statues. Within the consecrated enclosure stand the shrine and statue of Perseus, who, as

the inhabitants affirm, often appears in the country and the temple. They sometimes find one of his sandals, which are of the length of two cubits, and whenever this happens, fertility reigns throughout Egypt. Public games, after the manner of the Greeks, are celebrated in his honour. Upon this occasion they have every variety of gymnastic exercise. The rewards of the conquerors are cattle, vests, and skins. I was once induced to inquire why Perseus made his appearance to them alone, and why they were distinguished from the rest of Egypt by the celebration of gymnastic exercises? They informed me in return, that Perseus was a native of their country, as were also Danaus and Lynceus, who made a voyage into Greece, and from whom, in regular succession, they related that Perseus was descended. This hero visited Egypt for the purpose, as the Greeks also affirm, of carrying from Africa the Gorgon's head. Happening to come among them, he saw and was known to his relations. The name of Chemmis he had previously known from his mother, and he himself instituted the games which they continued to celebrate.

XCII. These which I have described, are the manners of those Egyptians who live in the higher parts of the country. They who inhabit the marshy grounds differ in no material instance. Like the Greeks, they confine themselves to one wife. To procure themselves the means of sustenance more easily, they make use of the following expedient: when the waters have risen to their extremest height, and all their fields are overflowed, there appears above the surface an immense quantity of plants of the lily species, which the Egyptians call the lotos: having cut down these, they dry them in the sun. The seed of the flower, which resembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread; they also eat the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavour, and about the size of an apple. There is a second species of the lotos, which grows in the Nile, and which is not unlike a rose. The fruit, which grows from the bottom of the root, is like a wasp's nest: it is found to contain a number of kernels of the size of

an olive-stone, which are very grateful, either fresh or dried. Of the byblus, which is an annual plant, after taking it from a marshy place, where it grows, they cut off the tops, and apply them to various uses. They eat or sell what remains, which is nearly a cubit in length. To make this a still greater delicacy, there are many who previously roast it. With a considerable part of this people, fish constitutes the principal article of food; they dry it in the sun, and eat it without other preparation.

XCH. Those fishes which are gregarious, seldom multiply in the Nile, they usually propagate in the lakes. At the season of spawning they move in vast multitudes towards the sea; the males lead the way, and emit the engendering principle in their passage; this the females absorb as they follow, and in consequence, conceive. As soon as the seminal matter has had its proper operation, they leave the sea, return up the river, and endeavour to regain their accustomed haunts. The mode, however, of their passage is reversed, the females lead the way, whilst the males follow. The females do now what the males did before, they drop their spawn, resembling small grains of millet, which the males eagerly devour. Every particle of this contains a small fish, and each which escapes the males regularly increases till it becomes a fish. Of these fish, such as are taken in their passage towards the sea, are observed to have the left part of their heads depressed, which on their return is observed of their right. The cause of this is obvious: as they pass to the sea they rub themselves against the bank on the left side; as they return they keep closely to the same bank, and in both instances press against it, that they may not be obliged to deviate from their course by the current of the stream. As the Nile gradually rises, the water first fills those cavities of the land which are nearest the river. As soon as these are saturated, an abundance of small fry may be discovered. The cause of their increase may perhaps be thus explained: when the Nile ebbs, the fish, which in the preceding season had deposited their spawn in the mud, retreat reluctantly with the stream; but at the

proper season, when the river flows, this spawn is matured into fish.

XCIV. The inhabitants of the marshy grounds make use of an oil, which they term the kiki, expressed from the Sillicyprian plant. In Greece this plant springs spontaneously without any cultivation, but the Egyptians sow it on the banks of the river, and of the canals; it there produces fruit in great abundance, but of a very strong odour; when gathered, they obtain from it, either by friction or pressure, an unctuous liquid, which diffuses an offensive smell, but for burning it is equal in quality to the oil of olives.

XCV. The Egyptians are provided with a remedy against gnats, of which there are a surprising number. As the wind will not suffer these insects to rise far from the ground, the inhabitants of the higher part of the country usually sleep in turrets. They who live in the marshy grounds use this substitute: each person has a net, with which they fish by day, and which they render useful by night. They cover their beds with their nets, and sleep securely beneath them. If they slept in their common habits, or under linen, the gnats would not fail to torment them, which they do not even attempt through a net.

XCVI. Their vessels of burthen are constructed of a species of thorn, which resembles the lotos of Cyrene, and which distils a gum. From this thorn they cut planks, about two cubits square: after disposing these in the form of bricks, and securing them strongly together, they place from side to side benches for the rowers. They do not use timber artificially carved, but bend the planks together with the bark of the byblus made into ropes. They have one rudder, which goes through the keel of the vessel; their mast is made of the same thorn, and the sails are formed from the byblus. These vessels are haled along by land, for unless the wind be very favourable they can make no way against the stream. When they go with the current, they throw from the head of the vessel a hurdle made of tamarisk, fastened together with reeds; they have also a perforated stone of the weight of two talents, this is let fall at the stern, secured by a rope.

The name of this kind of bark is *baris*, which the above hurdle, impelled by the tide, draws swiftly along. The stone at the stern regulates its motion. They have immense numbers of these vessels, and some of them of the burthen of many thousand talents.

XCVII. During the inundation of the Nile, the cities only are left conspicuous, appearing above the waters like the islands of the *Ægean* sea. As long as the flood continues, vessels do not confine themselves to the channel of the river, but traverse the fields and the plains. They who then go from *Naucratis* to *Memphis*, pass by the pyramids; this, however, is not the usual course, which lies through the point of the Delta, and the city of *Cercasorus*. If from the sea and the town of *Canopus*, the traveller desires to go by the plains to *Naucratis*, he must pass by *Anthilla* and *Archandros*.

XCVIII. Of these places *Anthilla* is the most considerable: whoever may be sovereign of Egypt, it is assigned perpetually as part of the revenues of the queen, and appropriated to the particular purpose of providing her with sandals; this has been observed ever since Egypt was tributary to Persia. I should suppose that the other city derives its name from *Archander*, the son of *Pthius*, son-in-law of *Danaus*, and grandson of *Achæus*. There may probably have been some other *Archander*, for the name is certainly not Egyptian.

XCIX. All that I have hitherto asserted has been the result of my own personal remarks or diligent inquiry. I shall now proceed to relate what I learned from conversing with Egyptians, to which I shall occasionally add what I myself have witnessed.—*Menes*, the first sovereign of Egypt, as I was informed by the priests, effectually detached the ground on which *Memphis* stands, from the water. Before his time the river flowed entirely along the sandy mountain on the side of *Libya*. But this prince, by constructing a bank at the distance of a hundred stadia from *Memphis*, towards the south, diverted the course of the Nile, and led it by means of a new canal, through the centre of

the mountains. Even at this present period, under the dominion of the Persians, this artificial channel is annually repaired, and regularly preserved. If the river were here once to break its banks, the whole town of Memphis would be greatly endangered. It was the same Menes who, upon the solid ground thus rescued from the water, first built the town now known by the name of Memphis, which is situate in the narrowest part of Egypt. To the north and the west of Memphis, he also sunk a lake, communicating with the river, which from the situation of the Nile, it was not possible to effect towards the east. He moreover erected on the same spot a magnificent temple in honour of Vulcan.

C. The priests afterwards recited to me from a book, the names of three hundred and thirty sovereigns (successors of Menes); in this continued series eighteen were Ethiopians, and one a female native of the country, all the rest were men and Egyptians. The female was called Nitocris, which was also the name of the Babylonian princess. They affirm that the Egyptians having slain her brother, who was their sovereign, she was appointed his successor; and that afterwards, to avenge his death, she destroyed by artifice a great number of Egyptians. By her orders a large subterraneous apartment was constructed, professedly for festivals, but in reality for a different purpose. She invited to this place a great number of those Egyptians whom she knew to be the principal instruments of her brother's death, and then by a private canal introduced the river amongst them. They added, that to avoid the indignation of the people, she suffocated herself in an apartment filled with ashes.

CI. None of these monarchs, as my informers related, were distinguished by any acts of magnificence or renown, except Mœris, who was the last of them. Of this prince, various monuments remain. He built the north entrance of the temple of Vulcan, and sunk a lake, the dimensions of which I shall hereafter describe. Near this he also erected pyramids, whose magnitude, when I speak of the lake, I shall particu-

larize. These are lasting monuments of his fame; but as none of the preceding princes performed any thing memorable, I shall pass them by in silence.

CII. The name of Sesostris, who lived after these monarchs, claims our attention. According to the priests, he was the first who, passing the Arabian gulph in a fleet of long vessels, reduced under his authority the inhabitants bordering on the Erythrean Sea. He proceeded yet farther, till he came to a sea, which on account of the number of shoals was not navigable. On his return to Egypt, as I learned from the same authority, he levied a mighty army, and made a martial progress by land, subduing all the nations whom he met with on his march. Whenever he was opposed by a people who proved themselves brave, and who discovered an ardour for liberty, he erected columns in their country, upon which he inscribed his own name, and that of his nation, and how he had here conquered by the force of his arms; but where he met with little or no opposition, upon similar columns which he erected, he added the private parts of a woman, expressive of the pusillanimity of the people.

CIII. Continuing his progress, he passed over from Asia to Europe, and subdued the countries of Scythia and Thrace. Here I believe he stopped, for monuments of his victory are discovered thus far, but no farther. On his return, he came to the river Phasis; but I am by no means certain whether he left a detachment of his forces as a colony in this district, or whether some of his men, fatigued with their laborious service, remained here of their own accord.

CIV. The Colchians certainly appear to be of Egyptian origin; which, indeed, before I had conversed with any one on the subject, I had always believed. But as I was desirous of being satisfied, I interrogated the people of both countries: the result was, that the Colchians seemed to have better remembrance of the Egyptians, than the Egyptians had of the Colchians. The Egyptians were of opinion, that the Colchians were descended from part of the troops of Sesostris. To this I myself was also inclined, because they are

black, and have short and curling hair; which latter circumstance may not, however, be insisted upon as evidence, because it is common to many other nations. But a second and better argument is, that the inhabitants of Colchos, Egypt, and Ethiopia, are the only people who from time immemorial have used circumcision. The Phœnicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge that they borrowed this custom from Egypt. Those Syrians who live near the river Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, confess that they learned it, and that too in modern times, from the Colchians. These are the only people who use circumcision, and who use it precisely like the Egyptians. As this practice can be traced both in Egypt and Ethiopia to the remotest antiquity, it is not possible to say who first introduced it. The Egyptians certainly communicated it to the other nations by means of their commercial intercourse. The Phœnicians, who are connected with Greece, do not any longer imitate the Egyptians in this particular, their male children not being circumcised.

CV. But the Colchians have another mark of resemblance to the Egyptians. Their manufacture of linen is alike, and peculiar to those two nations; they have similar manners, and the same language. The linen which comes from Colchis the Greeks call Sardonian; the linen of Egypt, Egyptian.

CVI. The greater part of the pillars which Sesostris erected in the places which he conquered, are no longer to be found. Some of them I myself have seen in Palestine of Syria, with the private members of a woman, and with the inscriptions which I have before mentioned. In Ionia there are two figures of this king, formed out of a rock; one is in the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other betwixt Sardis and Smyrna. Both of them represent a man, five palms in height; the right hand holds a javelin, the left a bow; the rest of the armour is partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian. Across his breast, from shoulder to shoulder, there is this inscription in the sacred characters of Egypt, "I conquered this country by the force

of my arms." Who the person here represented is, or of what country, is not specified; both are told elsewhere. Some have been induced, on examination, to pronounce this to be the figure of Memnon, but they must certainly be mistaken.

CVII. The same priests informed me that Sesostris returned to Egypt with an immense number of captives, of the different nations which he had conquered. On his arrival at the Pelusian Daphne, his brother, to whom he had confided the government in his absence, invited him and his family to take up their abode with him; which when they had done, he surrounded their apartments with combustibles, and set fire to the building. As soon as Sesostris discovered the villany, he deliberated with his wife, who happened to be with him, what measures to pursue; she advised him to place two of their six children across the parts which were burning, that they might serve as a bridge for the preservation of themselves and of the rest. This Sesostris executed; two of the children consequently perished, the remainder were saved with their father.

CVIII. Sesostris did not omit to avenge himself on his brother: on his return to Egypt, he employed the captives of the different nations he had vanquished, to collect those immense stones which were employed in the temple of Vulcan. They were also compelled to make those vast and numerous canals by which Egypt is intersected. In consequence of their involuntary labours, Egypt, which was before conveniently adapted to those who travelled on horseback or in carriages, became unfit for both. The canals occur so often, and in so many winding directions, that to travel on horseback is disagreeable, but in carriages impossible. The prince however was influenced by a patriotic motive: before his time those who inhabited the inland parts of the country, at a distance from the river, on the ebbing of the Nile suffered great distress from the want of water, of which they had none but from muddy wells.

CIX. The same authority informed me, that Sesostris made a regular distribution of the lands of Egypt. He assigned to each Egyptian a square piece of

ground; and his revenues were drawn from the rent, which every individual annually paid him. Whoever was a sufferer by the inundation of the Nile, was permitted to make the king acquainted with his loss. Certain officers were appointed to inquire into the particulars of the injury, that no man might be taxed beyond his ability. It may not be improbable to suppose that this was the origin of geometry, and that the Greeks learned it from hence. As to the pole, the gnomon, and the division of the day into twelve parts, the Greeks received them from the Babylonians.

CX. Except Sesostris, no monarch of Egypt was ever master of Ethiopia. This prince placed as a monument some marble statues before the temple of Vulcan: two of these were thirty cubits in height, and represented him and his queen; four others, of twenty cubits each, represented his four children. A long time afterwards, Darius king of Persia was desirous of placing before these a statue of himself, but the high priest of Vulcan violently opposed it, urging that the actions of Darius were far less splendid than those of the Egyptian Sesostris. This latter prince had vanquished as many nations as Darius, and had also subdued the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of Darius. Therefore, says he, it can never be just to place before the statues of Sesostris, the figure of a prince, whose exploits have not been equally illustrious. They told me that Darius forgave this remonstrance.

CXI. On the death of Sesostris, his son Pheron, as the priests informed me, succeeded to the throne. This prince undertook no military expedition; but by the action I am going to relate, he lost the use of his eyes:—When the Nile was at its extreme height of eighteen cubits, and had overflowed the fields, a sudden wind arose, which made the waters impetuously swell. At this juncture the prince hurled a javelin into the vortex of the stream: he was in a moment deprived of sight, and continued blind for the space of ten years; in the eleventh, an oracle was communicated to him from Buto, intimating that the period of his punishment was expired, and that he should

recover his sight, by washing his eyes with the urine of a woman, who had never known any man but her husband. Pheron first made the experiment with the urine of his own wife, and when this did not succeed, he applied that of other women indiscriminately. Having at length recovered his sight, he assembled all the women except her whose urine had removed his calamity, in a city which is to this day called Erythrebolos; all these, with the town itself, he destroyed by fire, but he married the female who had deserved his gratitude. On his recovery he sent magnificent presents to all the more celebrated temples; to that of the sun he sent two obelisks, too remarkable to be unnoticed; each was formed of one solid stone, one hundred cubits high, and eight broad.

CXII. The successor of Pheron, as the same priests informed me, was a citizen of Memphis, whose name in the Greek tongue was Proteus. His shrine is still to be seen at Memphis; it is situated to the south of the temple of Vulcan, and is very magnificently decorated. The Phœnicians of Tyre dwell in its vicinity, and indeed the whole of the place is denominated the Tyrian camp. In this spot, consecrated to Proteus, there is also a small temple, dedicated to Venus the Stranger: this Venus I conjecture is no other than Helen, the daughter of Tyndaris, because she, I was told, resided for some time at the court of Proteus, and because this building is dedicated to Venus the Stranger; no other temple of Venus is distinguished by this appellation.

CXIII. To my inquiries on the subject of Helen, these priests answered as follows: Paris having carried off Helen from Sparta, was returning home, but meeting with contrary winds in the Ægean, he was driven into the Egyptian sea. As the winds continued unfavourable, he proceeded to Egypt, and was driven to the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and to Tarichea: in this place was a temple of Hercules, which still remains; if any slave fled to this for refuge, and in testimony of his consecrating himself to the service of the god, submitted to be marked with certain sacred characters, no one was suffered to

molest him. This custom has been strictly observed, from its first institution to the present period. The servants of Paris, aware of the privileges of this temple, fled thither from their master, and with a view of injuring Paris, became the suppliants of the divinity. They published many accusations against their master, disclosing the whole affair of Helen, and the wrong done to Menelaus: this they did, not only in the presence of the priests, but also before Thonis, the governor of the district.

CXIV. Thonis instantly despatched a messenger to Memphis, with orders to say thus to Proteus: "There is arrived here a Trojan, who has perpetrated an atrocious crime in Greece; he has seduced the wife of his host, and has carried her away, with a great quantity of treasure; adverse winds have forced him hither; shall I suffer him to depart without molestation, or shall I seize his person and property?" The answer which Proteus sent was thus conceived: "Whoever that man is who has violated the rights of hospitality, seize and bring him before me, that I may examine him."

CXV. Thonis upon this seized Paris, and detaining his vessels, instantly sent him to Proteus, with Helen and all his wealth: on their arrival, Proteus inquired of Paris who he was, and whence he came: Paris faithfully related the name of his family and country, and from whence he last set sail. But when Proteus proceeded to make inquiries concerning Helen, and how he obtained possession of her person, Paris hesitated in his answers; his slaves who had deserted him, explained and proved the particulars of his guilt; in consequence of which Proteus made this determination: "If I did not esteem it a very heinous crime to put any stranger to death, whom unfavourable winds have driven to my coast, I would assuredly, thou most abandoned man, avenge that Greek whose hospitality thou hast treacherously violated. Thou hast not only seduced his wife, but, having violently taken her away, still criminally detainest her; and, as if this were not enough, thou hast robbed and plundered him! But as I can by no means pre-

vail upon myself to put a stranger to death, I shall suffer you to depart; the woman and your wealth I shall detain, till the Greek himself thinks proper to demand her.—Do you and your companions depart within three days from my coasts, or expect to be treated as enemies.”

CXVI. Thus, according to the narrative of the priests, did Helen come to the court of Proteus. I conceive that this circumstance could not be unknown to Homer; but as he thought it less ornamental to his poem, he forbore to use it. That he actually did know it, is evident from that part of the *Iliad*, where he describes the voyage of Paris; this evidence he has no where retracted. He informs us, that Paris, after various wanderings, at length arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia; it is in the *Bravery of Diomed*; the passage is this:

There lay the vestures of no vulgar art,  
Sidonian maids embroider'd every part;  
Whom from soft Sidon youthful Paris bore,  
With Helen touching on the Tyrian shore.—Il. vi. 360.

He again introduces this subject in the *Odyssey*:

These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,  
Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife:  
Who sway'd the sceptre where prolific Nile  
With various simples clothes the fatten'd soil,  
With wholesome herbage mix'd, the direful bane  
Of vegetable venom taints the plain. Od. iv. 315.

Menelaus also says thus to Telemachus:

Long on the Egyptian coast by calms confin'd,  
Heaven to my fleet refused a prosperous wind:  
No vows had we preferr'd, no victim slain,  
For this the gods each favouring gale restrain. Od. iv. 473.

In these passages, Homer confessed himself acquainted with the voyage of Paris to Egypt; for Syria borders upon Egypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belongs, inhabit part of Syria.

CXVII. The last passage of these, confirms sufficiently the argument, which may be deduced from the former, that the Cyprian verses were never written by Homer. These relate that Paris, in company with Helen, assisted by a favourable wind at sea, passed in three days from Sparta to Troy; on the contrary,

it is asserted in the *Iliad*, that Paris, after carrying away Helen, wandered about to various places. But enough of Homer and the Cyprian verses.

CXVIII. On my desiring to know of the same priests whether what the Greeks affirm concerning Troy, was true or false, they told me the following particulars, which they assured me they received from Menelaus himself. After the loss of Helen, the Greeks assembled in great numbers at Teucris, to assist Menelaus; they disembarked and encamped: they then despatched ambassadors to Troy, whom Menelaus himself accompanied. On their arrival, they made a formal demand of Helen, and of the wealth which Paris had at the same time clandestinely taken, as well as general satisfaction for the injury. The Trojans then and afterwards uniformly persisted in declaring, that they had among them neither the person nor the wealth of Helen, but that both were in Egypt; and they thought it hard that they should be made responsible for what Proteus king of Egypt certainly possessed. The Greeks, believing themselves deluded, laid siege to Troy, and persevered till they took it. But when Helen was not to be found in the captured town, and the same assertions concerning her were continued, they at length obtained credit, and Menelaus himself was despatched to Proteus.

CXIX. As soon as he arrived in Egypt he proceeded up the Nile to Memphis. On his relating the object of his journey, he was honourably entertained; Helen, who had been treated with respect, was restored to him, and with her, all his treasures. Inattentive to these acts of kindness, Menelaus perpetrated a great enormity against the Egyptians: the winds preventing his departure, he took two children of the people of the country, and with great barbarity offered them in sacrifice. As soon as the circumstance was known, universal indignation was excited against him, and he was pursued; but he fled by sea into Africa, and the Egyptians could trace him no further. Of the above facts, some they knew, as having happened among themselves, and others were the result of much diligent inquiry.

**CXX.** This intelligence concerning Helen, I received from the Egyptian priests, to which I am inclined to add, as my opinion, that if Helen had been actually in Troy, they would certainly have restored her to the Greeks, with or without the consent of Paris. Priam and his connections could never have been so infatuated, as to endanger the preservation of themselves and their children, merely that Paris might enjoy Helen; but even if such had been their determination at first, still after having lost, in their different contests with the Greeks, many of their countrymen, and among these, if the poets may be believed, several of their king's own sons, I cannot imagine but that Priam, even if he had married her himself, would have restored Helen, if no other means had existed of averting these calamities. We may add to this, that Paris was not the immediate heir to the crown, for Hector was his superior both in age and valour: Paris, therefore, could not have possessed any remarkable influence in the state, neither would Hector have countenanced the misconduct of his brother, from which he himself, and the rest of his countrymen, had experienced so many and such great calamities. But the restoration of Helen was not in their power, and the Greeks placed no dependence on their assertions, which were indisputably true; but all this, with the subsequent destruction of Troy, might be ordained by Providence, to instruct mankind that the gods proportioned punishment to crimes.

**CXXI.** The same instructors farther told me, that Proteus was succeeded by Rhampsinitus: he built the west entrance of the temple of Vulcan; in the same situation he also erected two statues, twenty-five cubits in height. That which faces the north the Egyptians call summer, the one to the south winter; the latter is treated with no manner of respect, but they worship the former, and make offerings before it. This prince possessed such abundance of wealth, that far from surpassing, none of his successors ever equalled him in affluence. For the security of his riches he constructed a stone edifice, connected with his palace by a wall. The man whom he employed, with a dis-

honest view, so artfully disposed one of the stones, that two or even one person might remove it from its place. In this building, when completed, the king deposited his treasures. Some time afterwards, the artist found his end approaching; and having two sons, he called them both before him, and informed them in what manner, with a view to their future emolument and prosperity, he had built the king's treasury. He then explained the particular situation of the stone, gave them minutely its dimensions, by observance of which they might become the managers of the king's riches. On the death of the father, the sons were not long before they availed themselves of their secret. Under the advantage of the night, they visited the building, discovered and removed the stone, and carried away with them a large sum of money. As soon as the king entered the apartment, he saw the vessels which contained his money materially diminished: he was astonished beyond measure, for as the seals were unbroken, and every entrance properly secured, he could not possibly direct his suspicion against any one. This was several times repeated; the thieves continued their visits, and the king as regularly saw his money decrease. To effect a discovery, he ordered some traps to be placed round the vessels which contained his riches. The robbers came as before; one of them proceeding as usual directly to the vessels, was caught in a snare: as soon as he was sensible of his situation, he called his brother, and acquainted him with it; he withal entreated him to cut off his head without a moment's delay, as the only means of preventing his own detection and consequent loss of life; he approved and obeyed his advice, and replacing properly the stone, he returned home with the head of his brother. As soon as it was light the king entered the apartment, and seeing the body secured in a snare without a head, the building in no part disturbed, nor the smallest appearance of any one having been there, he was more astonished than ever. In this perplexity he commanded the body to be hanged from the wall, and having stationed guards on the spot, he directed them to seize and

bring before him whoever should discover any symptoms of compassion or sorrow at sight of the deceased. The mother being much exasperated at this exposure of her son, threatened the surviving brother, that if he did not contrive and execute some means of removing the body, she would immediately go to the king, and disclose all the circumstances of the robbery. The young man in vain endeavoured to alter the woman's determination; he therefore put in practice the following expedient:—He got together some asses, which he loaded with flasks of wine; he then drove them near the place where the guards were stationed to watch the body of his brother; as soon as he approached, he secretly removed the pegs from the mouths of two or three of the skins, and when he saw the wine running about, he began to beat his head, and to cry out vehemently, with much pretended confusion and distress. The soldiers, perceiving the accident, instantly ran with vessels, and such wine as they were able to catch they considered as so much gain to themselves. At first, with great apparent anger, he reproached and abused them, but he gradually listened to their endeavours to console and pacify him: he then proceeded at leisure to turn his asses out of the road, and to secure his flasks. He soon entered into conversation with the guards, and affecting to be pleased with the drollery of one of them, he gave them a flask of wine; they accordingly sat down to drink, and insisted upon his bearing them company: he complied with their solicitations, and a second flask was presently the effect of their civility to him. The wine had soon its effect, the guards became exceedingly drunk, and fell fast asleep; under the advantage of the night, the young man took down the body of his brother, and in derision shaved the right cheeks of the guards; he placed the body on one of the asses and returned home, having thus satisfied his mother. When the king heard of what had happened, he was enraged beyond measure; but still determined on the detection of the criminal, he contrived this, which to me seems a most improbable part of the story:—He commanded his daughter to prostitute her person in-

discriminately to every comer upon condition that, before enjoyment, each should tell her the most artful as well as the most wicked thing he had ever done; if any one should disclose the circumstance of which he wished to be informed, she was to seize him, and prevent his escape. The daughter obeyed the injunction of her father; the thief, knowing what was intended, prepared still farther to disappoint and deceive the king. He cut off the arm near the shoulder from his brother's recently dead body, and, concealing it under his cloak, he visited the king's daughter: when he was asked the same question as the rest, he replied, "That the most wicked thing he had ever done was the cutting off the head of his brother, who was caught in a snare in the king's treasury; the most artful thing, was his making the guards drunk, and by that means effecting the removal of his brother's body." On hearing this, she endeavoured to apprehend him, but he, favoured by the night, put out to her the dead arm, which she seizing, was thus deluded, whilst he made his escape. On hearing this also, the king was equally astonished at the art and audacity of the man; he was afterwards induced to make a proclamation through the different parts of his dominions, that if the offender would appear before him, he would not only pardon but liberally reward him. The thief, trusting to his word, appeared; Rhampsinitus was delighted with the man, and, thinking his ingenuity beyond all parallel, gave him his daughter. The king conceived the Egyptians superior in subtlety to all the world, but he thought this man superior even to the Egyptians.

CXXII. After this event, they told me that the same king descended alive beneath the earth, to what the Greeks call the infernal regions, where he played at dice with the goddess Ceres, and alternately won and lost. On his return she presented him with a napkin embroidered with gold. This period of his return was observed by the Egyptians as a solemn festival, and has continued to the time of my remembrance; whether the above, or some other incident, was the occasion of this feast, I will not

take upon me to determine. The ministers of this solemnity have a vest woven within the space of the day; this is worn by a priest whose eyes are covered with a bandage. They conduct him to the path which leads to the temple of Ceres, and there leave him. They assert, that two wolves meet the priest thus blinded, and lead him to the temple, though at the distance of twenty stadia from the city, and afterwards conduct him back again to the place where they found him.

CXXIII. Every reader must determine for himself with respect to the credibility of what I have related; for my own part I heard these things from the Egyptians, and think it necessary to transcribe the result of my inquiries. The Egyptians esteem Ceres and Bacchus as the great deities of the realms below; they are also the first of mankind who have defended the immortality of the soul. They believe, that on the dissolution of the body the soul immediately enters some other animal, and that, after using as vehicles every species of terrestrial, aquatic, and winged creatures, it finally enters a second time into a human body. They affirm that it undergoes all these changes in the space of three thousand years. This opinion some amongst the Greeks have at different periods of time adopted as their own; but I shall not, though I am able, specify their names.

CXXIV. I was also informed by the same priests, that, till the reign of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was not only remarkable for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who succeeded this prince, degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct. He barred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices; he proceeded next to make them labour servilely for himself. Some he compelled to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains, and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were appointed to receive them in vessels, and transport them to a mountain of Libya. For this service a hundred thousand men were employed, who were relieved every three months. Ten years were consumed in the hard labour of forming the

road, through which these stones were to be drawn ; a work, in my estimation, of no less fatigue and difficulty than the pyramid itself. This causeway is five stadia in length, forty cubits wide, and its extreme height thirty-two cubits, the whole is of polished marble, adorned with the figures of animals. Ten years, as I remarked, were exhausted in forming this causeway, not to mention the time employed in the vaults of the hill upon which the pyramids are erected. These he intended as a place of burial for himself, and were in an island which he formed by introducing the waters of the Nile. The pyramid itself was a work of twenty years : it is of a square form ; every front is eight plethra long, and as many in height ; the stones very skilfully cemented, and none of them of less dimensions than thirty feet.

CXXV. The ascent of the pyramid was regularly graduated by what some call steps, and others altars. Having finished the first flight, they elevated the stones to the second by the aid of machines constructed of short pieces of wood ; from the second, by a similar engine, they were raised to the third, and so on to the summit. Thus there were as many machines as there were regular divisions in the ascent of the pyramid, though in fact there might only be one, which, being easily manageable, might be removed from one range of the building to another, as often as occasion made it necessary : both modes have been told me, and I know not which best deserves credit. The summit of the pyramid was first of all finished ; descending thence, they regularly completed the whole. Upon the outside were inscribed, in Egyptian characters, the various sums of money expended, in the progress of the work, for the radishes, onions, and garlic consumed by the artificers. This, as I well remember, my interpreter informed me, amounted to no less a sum than one thousand six hundred talents. If this be true, how much more must it have necessarily cost for iron tools, food, and clothes for the workmen, particularly when we consider the length of time they were employed on the building itself, adding what was spent in the hewing and conveyance of the

stones, and the construction of the subterraneous apartments?

CXXVI. Cheops having exhausted his wealth, was so flagitious, that he prostituted his daughter, commanding her to make the most of her person. She complied with her father's injunctions, but I was not told what sum she thus procured, at the same time she took care to perpetuate the memory of herself; with which view she solicited every one of her lovers to present her with a stone. With these it is reported the middle of the three pyramids, fronting the larger one, was constructed, the elevation of which on each side is one hundred and fifty feet.

CXXVII. According to the Egyptians, this Cheops reigned fifty years. His brother Chephren succeeded to his throne, and adopted a similar conduct. He also built a pyramid, but this was less than his brother's, for I measured them both; it has no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, which in the other pyramid surrounds an island, where the body of Cheops is said to be deposited. Of this latter pyramid, the first ascent is entirely of Ethiopian marble of divers colours, but it is not so high as the larger pyramid, near which it stands, by forty feet. This Chephren reigned fifty-six years; the pyramid he built stands on the same hill with that erected by his brother: the hill itself is near one hundred feet high.

CXXVIII. Thus for the space of one hundred and six years the Egyptians were exposed to every species of oppression and calamity, not having in all this period, permission to worship in their temples. They have so extreme an aversion for the memory of these two monarchs, that they are not very willing to mention their names. They call their pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis, who at that time fed his cattle in those places.

CXXIX. Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, succeeded Chephren: as he evidently disapproved of his father's conduct, he commanded the temples to be opened, and the people, who had been reduced to the extremest affliction, were again permitted to offer sacrifice, at

the shrines of their gods. He excelled all that went before him, in his administration of justice. The Egyptians revere his memory beyond that of all his predecessors, not only for the equity of his decisions, but because, if complaint was ever made of his conduct as a judge, he condescended to remove and redress the injury. Whilst Mycerinus thus distinguished himself by his exemplary conduct to his subjects, he lost his daughter and only child, the first misfortune he experienced. Her death excessively afflicted him; and wishing to honour her funeral with more than ordinary splendour, he enclosed her body in a heifer made of wood, and richly ornamented with gold.

CXXX. This heifer was not buried; it remained even to my time, in the palace of Sais, placed in a superb hall. Every day, costly aromatics were burnt before it, and every night it was splendidly illuminated. In an adjoining apartment are deposited statues of the different concubines of Mycerinus, as the priests of Sais informed me. These are to the number of twenty; they are colossal figures, made of wood, and in a naked state, but what women they are intended to represent, I presume not to say: I merely relate what I was told.

CXXXI. Of this heifer, and these colossal figures, there are some who speak thus: Mycerinus, they say, conceived an unnatural passion for his daughter, and offered violence to her person. She having, in the anguish of her mind, strangled herself, her father buried her in the manner we have described. The mother cut off the hands of those female attendants, who assisted the king in his designs upon his daughter, and therefore these figures are marked by the same imperfections, as distinguished the persons they represent, when alive. The whole of this story, and that in particular which relates to the hands of these figures, to me seems very preposterous. I myself saw the hands lying on the ground, merely, as I thought, from the effect of time.

CXXXII. The body of this heifer is covered with a purple cloth, whilst the head and neck are very richly

gift: betwixt the horns there is a golden star; it is made to recline on its knees, and is about the size of a large cow. Every year it is brought from its apartment; at the period when the Egyptians flagellate themselves in honour of a certain god, whom it does not become me to name, this heifer is produced to the light: it was the request, they say, of the dying princess to her father, that she might once every year behold the sun.

CXXXIII. Mycerinus after the loss of his daughter, met with a second calamity; an oracle from the city Buto informed him that he should live six years, but die in the seventh; the intelligence astonished him, and he sent a message in return to reproach the goddess with injustice; for that his father and his uncle, who had been injurious to mankind, and impious to the gods, had enjoyed each a length of life of which he was to be deprived, who was distinguished for his piety. The reply of the oracle told him, that his early death was the consequence of the conduct for which he commended himself; he had not fulfilled the purpose of the fates, who had decreed that for the space of one hundred and fifty years Egypt should be oppressed; of which determination the two preceding monarchs had been aware, but he had not. As soon as Mycerinus knew that his destiny was immutable, he caused an immense number of lamps to be made, by the light of which, when evening approached, he passed his hours in the festivity of the banquet: he frequented by day and by night the groves and stream and whatever places he thought productive of delight: by this method of changing night into day, and apparently multiplying his six years into twelve, he thought to convict the oracle of falsehood.

CXXXIV. This prince also built a pyramid, but it was not by twenty feet so high as his father's; it was a regular square on every side, three hundred feet in height, and as far as the middle of Ethiopian stone. Some of the Greeks erroneously believe this to have been erected by Rhodopis the courtesan, but they do not seem to me even to know who this Rhodopis was; if they had, they never could have ascribed to her the

building of a pyramid, produced at the expense of several thousand talents: besides this, Rhodopis lived at a different period, in the time, not of Mycerinus, but Amasis, and many years after the monarchs who erected the pyramids. Rhodopis was born in Thrace, the slave of Iadmon, the son of Hephæstopolis the Samian: she was the fellow-servant of Esop, who wrote fables, and was also the slave of Iadmon; all which may be thus easily proved: The Delphians, in compliance with the directions of the oracle, had desired publicly to know, if any one required atonement to be made for the death of Esop; but none appeared to do this, except a grandson of Iadmon, bearing the same name.

CXXXV. Rhodopis was first carried to Egypt by Xanthus of Samos, whose view was to make money by her person. Her liberty was purchased for an immense sum by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess: thus becoming free, she afterwards continued in Egypt, where her beauty procured her considerable wealth, though by no means adequate to the construction of such a pyramid; the tenth part of her riches, whoever pleases may even now ascertain, and they will not be found so great as has been represented. Wishing to perpetuate her name in Greece, she contrived what had never before been imagined, as an offering for the Delphic temple: she ordered a tenth part of her property to be expended in making a number of iron spits, each large enough to roast an ox; they were sent to Delphi, where they are now to be seen behind the altar presented by the Chians. The courtesans of Naucratis are generally beautiful; she of whom we speak, was so universally celebrated that her name is familiar to every Greek. There was also another courtesan, named Archidice, well known in Greece, though of less repute than Rhodopis. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her liberty, returned to Mytilene: this woman was severely handled by Sappho in some satirical verses:—but enough has been said on the subject of Rhodopis.

CXXXVI. After Mycerinus, as the priests informed

me, Asychis reigned in Egypt; he erected the east entrance to the temple of Vulcan, which is far the greatest and most magnificent. Each of the above-mentioned vestibules is elegantly adorned with figures well carved, and other ornaments of buildings, but this is superior to them all. In this reign, when commerce was checked and injured from the extreme want of money, an ordinance passed, that any one might borrow money, giving the body of his father as a pledge: by this law the sepulchre of the debtor became in the power of the creditor; for if the debt was not discharged, he could neither be buried with his family, nor in any other vault, nor was he suffered to inter one of his descendants. This prince, desirous of surpassing all his predecessors, left as a monument of his fame a pyramid of brick, with this inscription on a piece of marble.—“Do not disparage my worth by comparing me to those pyramids composed of stone; I am as much superior to them, as Jove is to the rest of the deities; I am formed of bricks, which were made of mud adhering to poles drawn from the bottom of the lake.”—This was the most memorable of this king's actions.

CXXXVII. He was succeeded by an inhabitant of Anysis, whose name was Anysis, and who was blind. In his reign, Sabacus king of Ethiopia overran Egypt with a numerous army; Anysis fled to the morasses, and saved his life; but Sabacus continued master of Egypt for the space of fifty years. Whilst he retained his authority, he made it a rule not to punish any crime with death, but according to the magnitude of the offence he condemned the criminal to raise the ground near the place to which he belonged; by which means the situation of the different cities became more and more elevated; they were somewhat raised under the reign of Sesostrius by the digging of the canals, but they became still more so under the reign of the Ethiopian. This was the case with all the cities of Egypt, but more particularly with the city of Bubastis. There is in this city a temple, which well deserves our attention; there may be others larger as well as more splendid, but none which have a more delightful situation.

Bubastis in Greek is synonymous with Artemis or Diana.

CXXXVIII. This temple, taking away the entrance, forms an island; two branches of the Nile meet at the entrance of the temple, and then separating, flow on each side entirely round it; each of these branches is one hundred feet wide, and regularly shaded with trees; the vestibule is forty cubits high, and ornamented with various figures, none of which are less than six cubits. The temple is in the centre of the town, and is in every part a conspicuous object; its situation has never been altered, though every other part of the city has been elevated; a wall ornamented with sculpture surrounds the building; in the interior part, a grove of lofty trees shades the temple, in the centre of which is the statue of the goddess; the length and breadth of the temple each way, is one stadium. There is a paved way which leads through the public square of the city, from the entrance of this temple to that of Mercury, which is about thirty stadia in length.

CXXXIX. The deliverance of Egypt from the Ethiopian was, as they told me, effected by a vision, which induced him to leave the country: a person appeared to him in a dream, advising him to assemble all the priests of Egypt, and afterwards cut them in pieces. This vision to him seemed to demonstrate, that in consequence of some act of impiety, which he was thus tempted to perpetrate, his ruin was at hand, from Heaven or from man. Determined not to do this deed, he conceived it more prudent to withdraw himself; particularly as the time of his reigning over Egypt was, according to the declarations of the oracles, now to terminate. During his former residence in Ethiopia, the oracles of his country had told him, that he should reign fifty years over Egypt: this period being accomplished, he was so terrified by the vision, that he voluntarily withdrew himself.

CXL. Immediately on his departure from Egypt, the blind prince quitted his place of refuge, and resumed the government: he had resided for the period of fifty years in a solitary island, which he himself had

formed of ashes and of earth. He directed those Egyptians who frequented his neighbourhood for the purpose of disposing of their corn, to bring with them, unknown to their Ethiopian master, ashes for his use. Amyrtæus was the first person who discovered this island, which all the princes who reigned during the space of five hundred years before Amyrtæus, were unable to do; it is called Elbo, and is on each side ten stadia in length.

CXLI. The successor of this prince was Sethos, a priest of Vulcan; he treated the military of Egypt with extreme contempt, and as if he had no occasion for their services. Among other indignities, he deprived them of their aruræ, or fields of fifty feet square, which, by way of reward, his predecessors had given to each soldier: the result was, that when Sennacherib, king of Arabia and Assyria, attacked Egypt with a mighty army, the warriors, whom he had thus treated, refused to assist him. In this perplexity the priest retired to the shrine of his god, before which he lamented his danger and misfortunes: here he sunk into a profound sleep, and his deity promised him in a dream, that if he marched to meet the Assyrians he should experience no injury, for that he would furnish him with assistance. The vision inspired him with confidence; he put himself at the head of his adherents, and marched to Pelusium, the entrance of Egypt: not a soldier accompanied the party, which was entirely composed of tradesmen and artisans. On their arrival at Pelusium, so immense a number of mice infested by night the enemy's camp, that their quivers and bows, together with what secured their shields to their arms, were gnawed in pieces. In the morning the Arabians, finding themselves without arms, fled in confusion, and lost great numbers of their men. There is now to be seen in the temple of Vulcan, a marble statue of this king, having a mouse in his hand, and with this inscription; "Whoever thou art, learn, from my fortune, to reverence the gods."

CXLII. Thus, according to the information of the Egyptians and their priests, from the first king to this last, who was priest of Vulcan, a period of three hun-

dred and forty-one generations had passed, in which there had been as many high priests, and the same number of kings. Three generations are equal to one hundred years, and therefore three hundred generations are the same as ten thousand years; the forty-one generations that remain, make one thousand three hundred and forty years. During the above space of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, they assert that no divinity appeared in a human form; but they do not say the same of the time anterior to this account, or of that of the kings who reigned afterwards. During the above period of time the sun, they told me, had four times deviated from his ordinary course, having twice risen where he uniformly goes down, and twice gone down where he uniformly rises. This, however, had produced no alteration in the climate of Egypt; the fruits of the earth, and the phenomena of the Nile, had always been the same, nor had any extraordinary or fatal diseases occurred.

CXLIII. When the historian Hecatæus was at Thebes, he recited to the priests of Jupiter the particulars of his descent, and endeavoured to prove that he was the sixteenth in a right line from some god. But they did to him what they afterwards did to me, who had said nothing on the subject of my family. They introduced me into a spacious temple, and displayed to me a number of figures in wood; this number I have before specified, for every high priest places here, during his life, a wooden figure of himself. The priests enumerated them before me, and proved, as they ascended from the last to the first, that the son followed the father in regular succession. When Hecatæus, in the explanation of his genealogy, ascended regularly, and traced his descent in the sixteenth line from a god, they opposed a similar mode of reasoning to his, and absolutely denied the possibility of a human being's descent from a god. They informed him that each of these colossal figures was a Piromis; descended from a Piromis; and they farther asserted, that without any variation this had uniformly occurred to the number of the three hundred and forty-one, but in

this whole series there was no reference either to a god or a hero. Piromis in the Egyptian language means one "beautiful and good."

CXLIV. From these priests I learned, that the individuals whom these figures represented, so far from possessing any divine attributes, had all been what I have described. But in the times which preceded, immortal beings had reigned in Egypt, that they had communication with men, and had uniformly one superior; that Orus, whom the Greeks call Apollo, was the last of these; he was the son of Osiris, and, after he had expelled Typhon, himself succeeded to the throne; it is also to be observed, that in the Greek tongue Osiris is synonymous with Bacchus.

CXLV. The Greeks consider Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan, as the youngest of their deities; but Egypt esteems Pan as the most ancient of the gods, and even of those eight who are accounted the first. Hercules was among those of the second rank in point of antiquity, and one of those called the twelve gods. Bacchus was of the third rank, and among those whom the twelve produced. I have before specified the number of years which the Egyptians reckon from the time of Hercules to the reign of Amasis: from the time of Pan a still more distant period is reckoned; from Bacchus, the youngest of all, to the time of Amasis, is a period, they say, of fifteen thousand years. On this subject the Egyptians have no doubts, for they profess to have always computed the years, and to have kept written accounts of them with the minutest accuracy. From Bacchus, who is said to be the son of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, to the present time, is one thousand six hundred years; from Hercules, the reputed son of Alcmena, is nine hundred years; and from Pan, whom the Greeks call the son of Penelope and Mercury, is eight hundred years, before which time was the Trojan war.

CXLVI. Upon this subject I have given my own opinion, leaving it to my readers to determine for themselves. If these deities had been known in Greece, and then grown old, like Hercules the son of Amphitryon, Bacchus the son of Semele, and Pan the son

of Penelope, it might have been asserted of them, that although mortals, they possessed the names of those deities known in Greece in the times which preceded. The Greeks affirm of Bacchus, that as soon as he was born Jove enclosed him in his thigh, and carried him to Nysa, a town of Ethiopia beyond Egypt: with regard to the nativity of Pan they have no tradition among them; from all which, I am convinced, that these deities were the last known among the Greeks, and that they date the period of their nativity from the precise time that their names came amongst them;—the Egyptians are of the same opinion.

CXLVII. I shall now give some account of the internal history of Egypt; to what I learned from the natives themselves, and the information of strangers, I shall add what I myself beheld. At the death of their sovereign, the priest of Vulcan, the Egyptians recovered their freedom; but as they could not live without kings, they chose twelve, among whom they divided the different districts of Egypt. These princes connected themselves with each other by intermarriages, engaging solemnly to promote their common interest, and never to engage in any acts of separate policy. The principal motive of their union was to guard against the declaration of an oracle, which had said, that whoever among them should offer in the temple of Vulcan a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole sovereign of Egypt; and it is to be remembered that they assembled indifferently in every temple.

CXLVIII. It was the resolution of them all, to leave behind them a common monument of their fame:—With this view, beyond the lake Moeris, near the city of crocodiles, they constructed a labyrinth, which exceeds, I can truly say, all that has been said of it; whoever will take the trouble to compare them, will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to the workmanship and expense. The temples of Ephesus and Samos may justly claim admiration, and the pyramids may individually be compared to many of the magnificent structures of

Greece, but even these are inferior to the labyrinth. It is composed of twelve courts, all of which are covered; their entrances are opposite to each other, six to the north and six to the south; one wall encloses the whole; the apartments are of two kinds, there are fifteen hundred above the surface of the ground, and as many beneath, in all three thousand. Of the former I speak from my own knowledge and observation; of the latter, from the information I received. The Egyptians who had the care of the subterraneous apartments would not suffer me to see them, and the reason they alleged was, that in these were preserved the sacred crocodiles, and the bodies of the kings who constructed the labyrinth: of these therefore I presume not to speak; but the upper apartments, I myself examined, and I pronounce them among the greatest efforts of human industry and art. The almost infinite number of winding passages through the different courts, excited my warmest admiration: from spacious halls I passed through smaller apartments, and from them again to large and magnificent courts, almost without end. The ceilings and walls are all of marble, the latter richly adorned with the finest sculpture; around each court are pillars of the whitest and most polished marble: at the point where the labyrinth terminates, stands a pyramid one hundred and sixty cubits high, having large figures of animals engraved on its outside, and the entrance to it is by a subterraneous path.

CXLIX. Wonderful as this labyrinth is, the lake Mœris, near which it stands, is still more extraordinary: the circumference of this is three thousand six hundred stadia, or sixty schœni, which is the length of Egypt about the coast. This lake stretches itself from north to south, and in its deepest parts is two hundred cubits; it is entirely the produce of human industry, which indeed the work itself testifies, for in its centre may be seen two pyramids, each of which is two hundred cubits above and as many beneath the water; upon the summit of each is a colossal statue of marble, in a sitting attitude. The precise altitude of these pyramids is consequently four hundred

cubits, these four hundred cubits, or one hundred orgyæ, are adapted to a stadium of six hundred feet; an orgyia is six feet, or four cubits, for a foot is four palms, and a cubit six.

The waters of the lake are not supplied by springs; the ground which it occupies is of itself remarkably dry, but it communicates by a secret channel with the Nile; for six months the lake empties itself into the Nile, and the remaining six the Nile supplies the lake. During the six months in which the waters of the lake ebb, the fishery which is here carried on furnishes the royal treasury with a talent of silver every day; but as soon as the Nile begins to pour its waters into the lake, it produces no more than twenty minæ.

CL. The inhabitants affirm of this lake, that it has a subterraneous passage inclining inland towards the west, to the mountains above Memphis, where it discharges itself into the Libyan sands. I was anxious to know what became of the earth, which must somewhere have necessarily been heaped up in digging this lake; as my search after it was fruitless, I made inquiries concerning it of those who lived nearer the lake. I was the more willing to believe them, when they told me where it was carried, as I had before heard of a similar expedient used at Nineveh, an Assyrian city. Some robbers, who were solicitous to get possession of the immense treasures of Sardanapalus king of Nineveh, which were deposited in subterraneous apartments, began from the place where they lived to dig under ground, in a direction towards them. Having taken the most accurate measurement, they continued their mine to the palace of the king; as night approached they regularly emptied the earth into the Tigris, which flows near Nineveh, and at length accomplished their purpose. A plan entirely similar was executed in Egypt, except that the work was here carried on not by night but by day; the Egyptians threw the earth into the Nile, as they dug it from the trench; thus it was regularly dispersed, and this, as they told me, was the process of the lake's formation.

CLI. These twelve kings were eminent for the jus-

tice of their administration. Upon a certain occasion they were offering sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan, and on the last day of the festival were about to make the accustomed libation; for this purpose the chief priest handed to them the golden cups used on these solemnities, but he mistook the number, and instead of twelve gave only eleven. Psammetichus, who was the last of them, not having a cup, took off his helmet, which happened to be of brass, and from this poured his libation. The other princes wore helmets in common, and had them on the present occasion, so that the circumstance of this one king having and using his, was accidental and innocent. Observing, however, this action of Psammetichus, they remembered the prediction of the oracle, "that he among them who should pour a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole monarch of Egypt." They minutely investigated the matter, and being satisfied that this action of Psammetichus was entirely the effect of accident, they could not think him worthy of death; they nevertheless deprived him of a considerable part of his power, and confined him to the marshy parts of the country, forbidding him to leave this situation, or to communicate with the rest of Egypt.

CLII. This Psammetichus had formerly fled to Syria, from Sabacus the Ethiopian, who had killed his father Necos; when the Ethiopian, terrified by the vision, had abandoned his dominions, those Egyptians who lived near Sais had solicited Psammetichus to return. He was now a second time driven into exile amongst the fens, by the eleven kings, from this circumstance of the brazen helmet. He felt the strongest resentment for the injury, and determined to avenge himself on his persecutors; he sent therefore to the oracle of Latona, at Butos, which has among the Egyptians the highest character for veracity. He was informed that the sea should avenge his cause, by producing brazen figures of men. He was little inclined to believe that such a circumstance could ever occur; but some time afterwards, a body of Ionians and Carians, who had been engaged in a voyage of plunder, were compelled by distress to touch at

**Egypt**; they landed in brazen armour. Some Egyptian hastened to inform Psammetichus in his marshes of this incident; and as the messenger had never before seen persons so armed, he said, that some brazen men had arisen from the sea, and were plundering the country. He instantly conceived this to be the accomplishment of the oracle's prediction, and entered into alliance with the strangers, engaging them by splendid promises to assist him; with them and his Egyptian adherents, he vanquished the eleven kings.

**CLIII.** After he thus became sole sovereign of Egypt, he built at Memphis the vestibule of the temple of Vulcan, which is towards the south; opposite to this he erected an edifice for Apis, in which he is kept, when publicly exhibited: it is supported by colossal figures twelve cubits high, which serve as columns; the whole of the building is richly decorated with sculpture. Apis, in the language of Greece, is Epaphus.

**CLIV.** In acknowledgment of the assistance he had received, Psammetichus conferred on the Ionians and Carians certain lands, which were termed the Camp, immediately opposite to each other, and separated by the Nile: he fulfilled also his other engagements with them, and entrusted to their care some Egyptian children, to be instructed in the Greek language, from whom come those who, in Egypt, act as interpreters. This district, which is near the sea, somewhat below Bubastis, at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, was inhabited by the Ionians and Carians for a considerable time. At a succeeding period, Amasis, to avail himself of their assistance against the Egyptians, removed them to Memphis. Since the time of their first settlement in Egypt, they have preserved a constant communication with Greece; so that we have a perfect knowledge of Egyptian affairs from the reign of Psammetichus. They were the first foreigners whom the Egyptians received among them: within my remembrance, in the places which they formerly occupied, the docks for their ships, and vestiges of their buildings, might be seen.

**CLV.** Of the Egyptian oracle I have spoken alrea-

dy, but it so well deserves attention, that I shall expatiate still farther on the subject. It is sacred to Latona, and, as I have before said, in a large city called Butos, at the Sebennitic mouth of the Nile, as approached from the sea. In this city stands a temple of Apollo and Diana; that of Latona, whence the oracular communications are made, is very magnificent, having porticos forty cubits high. What most excited my admiration, was the shrine of the goddess; it was of one solid stone, having equal sides; the length of each was forty cubits; the roof is of another solid stone, no less than four cubits in thickness.

CLVI. Of all the things which here excite attention, this shrine is, in my opinion, the most to be admired. Next to this, is the island of Chemmis, which is near the temple of Latona, and stands in a deep and spacious lake; the Egyptians affirm it to be a floating island: I did not witness the fact, and was astonished to hear that such a thing existed. In this island is a large edifice sacred to Apollo, having three altars, and surrounded by palms, the natural produce of the soil. There are also great varieties of other plants, some of which produce fruit, others are barren. The Egyptians thus explain the circumstance of this island's floating; it was once fixed and immovable, when Latona, who has ever been esteemed one of the eight primary divinities, dwelt at Butos. Having received Apollo in trust from Isis, she consecrated and preserved him in this island, which, according to their account, now floats. This happened when Typhon, earnestly endeavouring to discover the son of Osiris, came hither. Their tradition says, that Apollo and Diana were the offspring of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo, Ceres, and Diana, the Egyptians respectively call Orus, Isis, and Bubastis. From this alone, Æschylus, son of Euphorion, the first poet who represented Diana as the daughter of Ceres, took his account, and referred to this incident the circumstance of the island's floating.

CLVII. Psammetichus reigned in Egypt fifty-four years, twenty-nine of which he consumed in the siege

of a great city of Syria, which he afterwards took; the name of this place was Azotus. I know not that any town ever sustained so long and obstinate a siege.

CLVIII. Psammetichus had a son, whose name was Necos, by whom he was succeeded in his authority. This prince first commenced that canal leading to the Red Sea, which Darius, king of Persia, afterwards continued. The length of this canal is equal to a four days' voyage, and it is wide enough to admit two triremes abreast. The water enters it from the Nile, a little above the city Bubastis: it terminated in the Erythrean Sea, not far from Patumos, an Arabian town. They began to sink this canal in that part of Egypt which is nearest Arabia. Contiguous to it is a mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and contains quarries of stone. Commencing at the foot of this, it extends from west to east, through a considerable tract of country, and where a mountain opens to the south, is discharged into the Arabian gulph. From the northern to the southern, or, as it is generally called, the Erythrean Sea, the shortest passage is over mount Cassius, which divides Egypt from Syria, from whence to the Arabian gulph are exactly a thousand stadia. The way by the canal, on account of the different circumflexions, is considerably longer. In the prosecution of this work, under Necos, no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished. He at length desisted from his undertaking, being admonished by an oracle, that all his labour would turn to the advantage of a barbarian; and it is to be observed, that the Egyptians term all barbarians, who speak a language different from their own.

CLIX. As soon as Necos discontinued his labours with respect to the canal, he turned all his thoughts to military enterprises. He built vessels of war, both on the Northern Ocean, and in that part of the Arabian gulph which is near the Erythrean Sea. Vestiges of his naval undertakings are still to be seen. His fleets were occasionally employed, but he also by land conquered the Syrians in an engagement near the town of Magdolum, and after his victory obtained possession of Cadytis, a Syrian city. The vest which he wore

when he got this victory, he consecrated to Apollo, and sent to the Milesian Branchidæ. After a reign of seventeen years, he died, leaving the kingdom to his son Psammis.

CLX. During the reign of this prince, some ambassadors arrived in Egypt from the Eleans. This people boasted that the establishment of the Olympic games possessed every excellence, and was not surpassed even by the Egyptians, though the wisest of mankind. On their arrival, they explained the motives of their journey; in consequence of which the prince called a meeting of the wisest of his subjects: at this assembly the Eleans described the particular regulations they had established; and desired to know if the Egyptians could recommend any improvement. After some deliberation, the Egyptians inquired whether their fellow-citizens were permitted to contend at these games. They were informed in reply, that all the Greeks without distinction were suffered to contend. The Egyptians observed, that this must of course lead to injustice, for it was impossible not to favour their fellow citizens, in preference to strangers. If, therefore, the object of their voyage to Egypt was to render their regulations perfect, they should suffer only strangers to contend in their games, and particularly exclude the Eleans.

CLXI. Psammis reigned but six years; he made an expedition to Ethiopia, and died soon afterwards. He was succeeded by his son Apries, who, next to his grandfather Psammetichus, was fortunate beyond all his predecessors, and reigned five-and-twenty years. He made war upon Sidon, and engaged the king of Tyre in battle by sea. I shall briefly mention in this place the calamities which afterwards befell him, but I shall discuss them more fully when I treat of the Libyan affairs. Apries having sent an army against the Cyrenians, received a severe check. The Egyptians ascribed this misfortune to his own want of conduct; and imagining themselves marked out for destruction, revolted from his authority. They supposed his views were, by destroying them, to secure his tyranny over

the rest of their country. The friends, therefore, of such as had been slain, with those who returned in safety, openly rebelled.

CLXII. On discovery of this, Apries sent Amasis to soothe the malcontents. Whilst this officer was persuading them to desist from their purpose, an Egyptian standing behind him placed a helmet on his head, saying that by this act he made him king. The sequel proved that Amasis was not averse to the deed; for as soon as the rebels had declared him king, he prepared to march against Apries; on intelligence of this event, the king sent Patarbemis, one of the most faithful of those who yet adhered to him, with directions to bring Amasis alive to his presence. Arriving where he was, he called to Amasis. Amasis was on horseback, and lifting up his leg, he broke wind, and bade him carry that to his master. Patarbemis persisted in desiring him to obey the king; Amasis replied he had long determined to do so, and that Apries should have no reason to complain of him, for he would soon be with him, and bring others also. Patarbemis was well aware of the purport of this answer; taking, therefore, particular notice of the hostile preparations of the rebels, he returned, intending instantly to inform the king of his danger. Apries, when he saw him, without hearing him speak, as he did not bring Amasis, ordered his nose and ears to be cut off. The Egyptians of his party, incensed at this treatment of a man much and deservedly respected, immediately went over to Amasis.

CLXIII. Apries on this put himself at the head of his Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, who were with him to the amount of thirty thousand men, and marched against the Egyptians. Departing from Sais, where he had a magnificent palace, he proceeded against his subjects; Amasis also prepared to meet his master and the foreign mercenaries. The two armies met at Mompheis, and made ready for battle.

CLXIV. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes. These are, the priests, the military, herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and pilots. They

take their names from their professions. Egypt is divided into provinces, and the soldiers, from those which they inhabit, are called Calasiries and Hermotybies.

CLXV. The Hermotybian district contains Busiris, Saïs, Chemmis, Papremis, the island of Prosopis, and part of Natho; which places, at the highest calculation, furnish one hundred and sixty thousand Hermotybian. These, avoiding all mercantile employments, follow the profession of arms.

CLXVI. The Calasirians inhabit Thebes, Bubastis, Apthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennis, Athribis, Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, and Mycephoria, which is an island opposite to Bubastis. In their most perfect state of population, these places furnish two hundred and fifty thousand men. Neither must these follow mechanic employments, but the son regularly succeeds the father in a military life.

CLXVII. I am not able to decide whether the Greeks borrowed this last-mentioned custom from the Egyptians, for I have also seen it observed in various parts of Thrace, Scythia, Persia, and Lydia. It seems, indeed, to be an established prejudice, even among nations the least refined, to consider mechanics and their descendants in the lowest rank of citizens, and to esteem those as the most noble who were of no profession, annexing the highest degrees of honour to the exercise of arms. This idea prevails throughout Greece, but more particularly at Lacedæmon; the Corinthians, however, do not hold mechanics in disesteem.

CLXVIII. The soldiers and the priests are the only ranks in Egypt which are honourably distinguished; these each of them receive from the public a portion of ground of twelve aruræ, free from all taxes. Each arura contains a hundred Egyptian cubits, which are the same as so many cubits of Samos. Besides this, the military enjoy, in their turns, other advantages: one thousand Calasirians and as many Hermotybian are every year on duty as the king's guards; whilst on this service, in addition to their assignments of

land, each man has a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of beef, with four arusteres of wine.

CLXIX. Apries with his auxiliaries, and Amasis at the head of the Egyptians, met and fought at Memphis. The mercenaries displayed great valour, but, being much inferior in number, were ultimately defeated. Apries is said to have entertained so high an opinion of the permanence of his authority, that he conceived it not to be in the power even of a deity to dethrone him. He was, however, conquered and taken prisoner; after his captivity he was conducted to Sais, to what was formerly his own, but then the palace of Amasis. He was here confined for some time, and treated by Amasis with much kindness and attention. But the Egyptians soon began to reproach him for preserving a person who was their common enemy, and he was induced to deliver up Apries to their power. They strangled, and afterwards buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, which stands in the temple of Minerva, on the left side of the vestibule. In this temple the inhabitants of Sais buried all the princes who were of their province, but the tomb of Amasis is more remote from the building, than that of Apries and his ancestors.

CLXX. In the area before this temple, is a large marble chamber, magnificently adorned with obelisks, in the shape of palm-trees, with various other ornaments; in this chamber is a niche with two doors, and here his body was placed. They have also at Sais the tomb of a certain personage, whom I do not think myself permitted to name. It is behind the temple of Minerva, and is continued the whole length of the wall of that building. Around this are many large obelisks, near which is a lake, whose banks are lined with stone; it is of a circular form, and, as I should think, as large as that of Delos, which is called Trochoeides.

CLXXI. Upon this lake are represented by night the accidents which happened to him whom I dare not name: the Egyptians call them their mysteries. Concerning these, at the same time that I confess my-

self sufficiently informed, I feel myself compelled to be silent. Of the ceremonies also in honour of Ceres, which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, I may not venture to speak, farther than the obligations of religion will allow me. They were brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaus, and by them revealed to the Pelasgian women. But when the tranquillity of the Peloponnese was disturbed by the Dorians, and the ancient inhabitants expelled, these rites were insensibly neglected or forgotten. The Arcadians, who retained their original habitations, were the only people who preserved them.

CLXXII. Such being the fate of Apries, Amasis, who was of the city of Siuph, in the district of Sais, succeeded to the throne. At the commencement of his reign, the Egyptians, remembering his plebeian origin, held him in contempt; but his mild conduct and political sagacity afterwards conciliated their affection. Among other valuables which he possessed, was a gold vessel, in which he and his guests were accustomed to spit, make water, and wash their feet: of the materials of this he made a statue of some god, which he placed in the most conspicuous part of the city. The Egyptians assembling before it, paid it divine honours: on hearing which, the king called them together, and informed them that the image they thus venerated was made of a vessel of gold, which he and they had formerly used for the most unseemly purposes. He afterwards explained to them the similar circumstances of his own fortune, who, though formerly a plebeian, was now their sovereign, and entitled to their reverence. By such means he secured their attachment, as well as their submissive obedience to his authority.

CLXXIII. The same prince thus regulated his time: from the dawn of the day to such time as the public square of the city was filled with people, he gave audience to whoever required it. The rest of the day he spent at the table; where he drank, laughed, and diverted himself with his guests, indulging in every species of licentious conversation. Upon this conduct some

of his friends remonstrated :—" Sir," they observed, " do you not dishonour your rank by these excessive and unbecoming levities ? From your awful throne you ought to employ yourself in the administration of public affairs, and by such conduct increase the dignity of your name, and the veneration of your subjects. Your present life is most unworthy of a king." " They," replied Amasis, " who have a bow, bend it only at the time they want it ; when not in use, they suffer it to be relaxed ; it would otherwise break, and not be of service when exigence required it. It is precisely the same with a man ; if, without some intervals of amusement, he applied himself constantly to serious pursuits, he would imperceptibly lose his vigour both of mind and body. It is the conviction of this truth which influences me in the division of my time."

CLXXIV. It is asserted of this Amasis, that whilst he was in a private condition he avoided every serious avocation, and gave himself entirely up to drinking and jollity. If at any time he wanted money for his expensive pleasures, he had recourse to robbery. By those who suspected him as the author of their loss, he was frequently, on his protesting himself innocent, carried before the oracle, by which he was frequently condemned, and as often acquitted. As soon as he obtained the supreme authority, such deities as had pronounced him innocent, he treated with the greatest contumely, neglecting their temples, and never offering them either presents or sacrifice ; this he did by way of testifying his dislike of their false declarations. Such, however, as decided on his guilt, in testimony of their truth and justice he revered as true gods, with every mark of honour and esteem.

CLXXV. This prince erected at Sais, in honour of Minerva, a magnificent portico, exceeding every thing of the kind in size and grandeur. The stones of which it was composed, were of a very uncommon size and quality, and decorated with a number of colossal statues and androsphynges of enormous magnitude. To repair this temple, he also collected stones of an

amazing thickness, part of which he brought from the quarries of Memphis, and part from the city of Elephantine, which is distant from Sais a journey of about twenty days. But what, in my opinion, is most of all to be admired, was an edifice which he brought from Elephantine, constructed of one entire stone. The carriage of it employed two thousand men, all of whom were pilots, for an entire period of three years. The length of this structure on the outside is twenty-two cubits and twenty digits, it is fourteen wide, and eight high; in the inside, the length of it is twenty-one cubits, twelve cubits wide, and five high. It is placed at the entrance of the temple; the reason it was carried no farther is this; the architect, reflecting upon his long and continued fatigue, sighed deeply, which incident Amasis construed as an omen, and obliged him to desist. Some, however, affirm that one of those employed to move it by levers, was crushed by it; for which reason it was advanced no farther.

CLXXVI. To other temples also, Amasis made many and magnificent presents. At Memphis, before the temple of Vulcan, he placed a colossal recumbent figure, which was seventy-five feet long. Upon the same pediment are two other colossal figures, formed out of the same stone, and each twenty feet high. Of the same size, and in the same attitude, another colossal statue may be seen at Sais. This prince built also at Memphis the temple of Isis, the grandeur of which excites universal admiration.

CLXXVII. With respect to all those advantages which the river confers upon the soil, and the soil on the inhabitants, the reign of Amasis was auspicious to the Egyptians, who under this prince could boast of twenty thousand cities well inhabited. Amasis is farther remarkable for having instituted that law which obliges every Egyptian once in the year to explain to the chief magistrate of his district, the means by which he obtains his subsistence. The refusal to comply with this ordinance, or the not being able to prove that a livelihood was procured by honest means,

was a capital offence. This law Solon borrowed from Egypt, and established at Athens, where it still remains in force, experience having proved its wisdom.

CLXXVIII. This king was very partial to the Greeks, and favoured them upon every occasion. Such as wished to have a regular communication with Egypt, he permitted to have a settlement at Naucratis. To others, who did not require a fixed residence, as being only engaged in occasional commerce, he assigned certain places for the construction of altars, and the performance of their religious rites. The most spacious and celebrated temple which the Greeks have, they call Hellenium. It was built at the joint expense of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; of the Æolians of Mitylene only. Hellenium is the common property of all these cities, who also appoint proper officers for the regulation of their commerce: the claims of other cities to these distinctions and privileges are absurd and false. The Æginetæ, it must be observed, constructed by themselves a temple to Jupiter, as did the Samians to Juno, and the Milesians to Apollo.

CLXXIX. Formerly Naucratis was the sole emporium of Egypt; whoever came to any other than the Canopian mouth of the Nile, was compelled to swear that it was entirely accidental, and was, in the same vessel, obliged to go thither. Naucratis was held in such great estimation, that if contrary winds prevented a passage, the merchant was obliged to move his goods on board the common boats of the river, and carry them round the Delta to Naucratis.

CLXXX. By some accident the ancient temple of Delphi was once consumed by fire, and the Amphictyons voted a sum of three hundred talents to be levied for the purpose of rebuilding it. A fourth part of this was assigned to the Delphians, who, to collect their quota, went about to different cities, and obtained a very considerable sum from Egypt. Amasis presented them with a thousand talents of alum. The

Greeks who resided in Egypt made a collection of twenty minæ.

CLXXXI. This king made a strict and amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians; to cement which, he determined to take a wife of that country, either to show his particular attachment to the Cyrenians, or his partiality to a woman of Greece. She whom he married is reported by some to have been the daughter of Battus, by others of Arcesilaus, or, as some say, of Critobulus. She was certainly descended of an honourable family, and her name was Ladice. When the nuptials came to be consummated, the king found himself afflicted with an imbecility which he experienced with no other woman. The continuance of this induced him thus to address his wife: "You have certainly practised some charm to my injury; expect not therefore to escape, but prepare to undergo the most cruel death." When the woman found all expostulations ineffectual, she vowed, in the temple of Venus, "that if on the following night her husband should be able to enjoy her, she would present a statue to her at Cyrene." Her wishes were accomplished, Amasis found his vigour restored, and ever afterwards distinguished her by the kindest affection. Ladice performed her vow, and sent a statue to Venus; it has remained to my time, and may be seen near the city of Cyrene. This same Ladice, when Cambyses afterwards conquered Egypt, was, as soon as he discovered who she was, sent back without injury to Cyrene.

CLXXXII. Numerous were the marks of liberality which Amasis bestowed on Greece. To Cyrene he sent a golden statue of Minerva, with a portrait of himself. To the temple of Minerva at Lindus he gave two marble statues, with a linen corselet, which latter well deserves attention. He presented two figures of himself, carved in wood, to the temple of Juno at Samos; they were placed immediately behind the gates; where they still remain. His kindness to Samos was owing to the hospitality which subsisted between him and Polycrates, the son of *Æax*. He had no such

motive of attachment to Lindus, but was moved by the report that the temple of Minerva was erected there by the daughters of Danaus, when they fled from the sons of Egyptus.—Such was the munificence of Amasis, who was also the first person that conquered Cyprus, and compelled it to pay him tribute.

END OF VOL. I.

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